National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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THE STANDARD.

BLOODGUILTINESS OF THE CHURCHES.

From The Annual Report of the Church Anti-Slavery Society—Rev. H. T. CHEEVER, Secretary.

IN reviewing the year, while your Committee have seen much, in the movements of Providence and the imperial march of events, to warrant the belief that the end of slavery is near, even at the doors, they have also seen, in the indifference or hostility to our philanthropic object and method evinced by ministerial bodies, benevolent associations, Churches, and religious newspapers, what has all along put them in grave doubt as to whether there was to be a peaceable or violent solution to the problem of American slavery—whether, in other words, Christianity was to get at the hearts of slaveholders, through the fidelity of Churches and ministers, or whether, as Dr. Guthrie of Edinburgh has put it, THE SLAVES WERE TO GET AT THE THROATS OF THEIR MASTERS, and take by force the liberty which they know to be their right.

In the year of grace, from May 1860 to May 1861, when the infamous slave trade was revived and exercised with a fearful activity and prevalence not known before for forty years, and when the country was passing through a political campaign, of which, in the providence of God, the only really vital question or living issue was slavery—we have seen the various ministerial associations and Conferences of New England meet, pray, confer, and indulge in the customary platitudes, but MAKE NO PRONUNCIATION WHATEVER UPON SLAVERY OR THE SLAVE TRADE, nor do anything at all to bring the verdict of Christianity and the Church to bear against either of those foul abominations.

In Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, the Congregational ministry met in their annual assemblies, and, with the aggressions of slavery and the execrable slave trade in full view, and the Church Anti-Slavery Society knocking at their door, and asking friendly attention and concurrence in its specific work of urging the practice of slaveholding under the opprobrium of Church prohibition, as the scriptural way of abolishing slavery, they gave not the faintest token of sympathy with such a work; nor did they discuss the subject in any way, nor did they propose any method of their own to make the Christianity of the nation effectively felt against the national sin of oppression.

In the middle States we have seen the two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church, in the one case (the Old School) dismiss a memorial for more definite legislation in regard to the growing practice in the Church of slaveholding, with the declaration that it sees no occasion for any further pronunciation on that subject. And, in the other case, we have seen the New School General Assembly, when urged by a memorial from the Missionary Church of Dunda[illegible] Committee on Church Extension to ad[illegible] slaveholders in its communion, refuse so to do, and pass the whole matter by with a vote of confidence "that the Church Extension Committee will conscientiously discharge their duty with an enlightened regard to the [illegible] cohasness and holiness in the Church [illegible]

And then we have seen the great Dioce[illegible] tion of New York, when urged by the son of the illustrious John Jay to pronounce upon the immorality of the slave trade as carried on within its own ecclesiastical dominion, adjourn in confusion, and with its business all unfinished, rather than be brought to vote upon such a proposition.

And we have seen the great American Board, at its jubilee gathering in the City of the Pilgrims, not only suffer so legitimate an occasion to pass without its special reprobation of the African slave trade, but even refuse to entertain an orderly proposition for a special committee to consider and report at the next annual meeting, whether any further action were necessary on the part of the Board, in connection with its African missions, to vindicate the honor of Christianity so scandalized by the American revival of the execrable traffic in the bodies and souls of men.

And later in the year, immediately upon the announcement of the constitutional election of a President of the United States, we have seen Southern divines, of all denominations, forthwith preaching secession in the interest of slavery, and publicly insisting* that the South ought to secede, even at the bayonet's point, because the North would not agree to its being "a sacred providential trust, committed by Almighty God to the South, to preserve and transmit our existing system of domestic servitude, with the right, unchallenged by man, to go and root itself wherever Providence and nature may carry it."

And we have seen Northern ministers teaching at the same time in the Presbyterian pulpit, unrebuked by co-Presbyters, that "to assert that the idea of property in man is an enormity and a crime, blasphemes the name of God and his doctrine."†

And then the world saw with amazement, how, slavery having been allowed to go on so long unrebuked in its madness, except by a despised minority in the ministry and Churches stigmatized as fanatics, and to usurp the chief seats in the synagogues of Church and State; when the howl was heard from ambitious politicians for a separate slaveholding Confederacy, and when treason and conspiracy reared their shameless heads, and perpetrated their unparalleled robberies, and when the country, paralyzed by the idiotic gabble about coercion, was fast drifting into anarchy or revolution, the C[illegible] and the ministry—which should have been in the best sense conservative, and should have corrected popular errors and excesses—at once struck hands with the selfish oligarchy of slaveholders, and baptized secession for slavery (the very basest of rebellions) in the name of God.

And then we saw the Northern Nestor of the Presbyterian Church, and the very Achilles of the Princetonian theology, when he had, in the honesty of his heart, put into his prominent article in the Biblical Repository on the State of the Country, these sentences: "The man who should advocate a dissolution of the Union would have been associated by his countrymen with Benedict Arnold, and such, we doubt not, will be the position assigned by the judgment of posterity to the authors of dissolution, should that calamity befall us"—we saw the grave author of those honest words, in deference to successful treason (?), make haste to expunge them, and send out his "article," by pamphlet and New York *Observer*, expurgated, lest it should seem to brand as traitors, with the well-earned infamy of Arnold, the Presbyterian divines and elders whose handwriting appeared in the Ordinance of Secession, and who have themselves stood godfathers to the great Southern rebellion.

Forthwith we seemed to see revealed that "decay of the spirit of liberty in the free States," which William Pinckney of Maryland warned the whole country seventy years ago would be wrought by slavery, "unless it should be circumscribed and suppressed." We saw circular letters issue from the clergy, and official communications from Presidents and Governors, at the beck of slavery, calling upon the Legislatures and people of the North to "discharge their constitutional obligations" (meaning the surrender of fugitives from the hell of Southern slavery) and make haste to repeal those Personal Liberty laws, which it had been found necessary to enact for the safety of the citizen.

And then we heard the call to prayer for the Union, and the proclamation for what has been appropriately called "The Traitors' Fast"—not that God would convince the nation of its guilt in the matter of slavery, and cause it to be put away, and thus the Divine judgments to be averted—but merely a fast for the permanence of the Union, accompanied with pledges to its enemies, that if the Union might but be preserved, we would enter into any agreement that might be proposed for the security of slavery where it already existed.

And we saw the ministry and the Churches, not as with one consent, taking occasion to show the people their transgression, and the house of Israel its sin toward the oppressed race which has been judicially declared to have no rights which white men were bound to respect. But we saw occasion taken, in instances not a few, to pour into the public ear, and afterward send, broadcast, through the press, the grossest misrepresentations of the "character and influence of abolitionism and Abolitionists."

We heard one who in the pulpit was foremost in the utterance of the falsehood that "all the prominent leaders of abolitionism, outside of the ministry, have become avowed infidels; and that all our notorious abolition preachers have renounced the great doctrines of grace as they are taught in the standards of the Reformed Churches"—we heard him (Rev. Henry J. Van Dyke) say deliberately over his own name, "that unless the hostile legislation of the Northern States is repealed, and the violent and unchristian agitation of the slavery question put down, your State (Georgia), and all other Southern States, ought to break loose from the government that will not protect their rights, and from a people who disregard the plainest obligations of consanguinity and brotherhood."

Meanwhile we saw the religious press of the South, which might have been expected to stem the tide of pro-slavery fanaticism, or at least to raise a breakwater against the violent flood of apostacy from the faith of the fathers, we saw that press in orthodox quarters maintaining that "negro slavery is normal and right, that it was instituted by Divine authority at the creation of man, that negroes are not the children of Adam, their status by creation being that of an inferior race, which God has made subject to the Adamic race, and so to continue throughout all their generations."

And by another portion of the religious press, North, we have seen it declared and held that "none but a monomaniac can believe that either the Old or New Testament Scriptures teach that the holding of slaves is sin"; and that "the nearer a man is to Calvinism, the further he is from abolition."

And while we have heard Rev. Drs. Ross and Thornwell, as representative authorities, maintain, on the part of the South, "that the relation between the master and the negro slave is as right in the sight of God as the relation of husband and wife; that not a man can be found among us who believes that the traffic in slaves is immoral; and, that slavery is inherently and divinely right"—we have seen pulpit and press at the North lay the blame of secession by the South to the fanatical Northern opinion that slaveholding is itself a sin.

And we have seen again, the Northern author of the "South-side View of Slavery," in a new work entitled, "The Sable Cloud," maintaining that "God ordains the subjection of one race to another, and makes bondage one of his ordinances, as truly as war; that "the black race is under the divine sentence of servitude"; and that "extension, (*i. e.*, the extension of slavery,) may be one other way, in which the purposes of God will manifest themselves with regard to the colored race here."

And we have seen finally, an influential religious paper at the North—that had rendered valuable service beforetime in the moral war with slavery, and that is now dealing its blows heavy and hot at the dying monster—we have seen that paper, in order to save an assumed principle of its ethics, that slavery is not *malum in se*, and to prevent the moral obloquy of mankind and of the churches from settling down upon slaveholding and the slaveholder, reduced to the last shift of maintaining that the term *slaveholding* cannot be held as an invariable equivalent for holding human beings as property, and that, therefore, slaveholding is not inherently sinful, although slaveholding of limited beings as property, is admitted to be "an immorality," the renunciation of which ought to be made a condition of membership in the Christian Church."

Simultaneously with the full development of the Southern doctrine of the intrinsic righteousness of slavery, and a Southern Confederacy founded on what [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1861.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

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THE ABOLITIONISTS, THE SLAVEHOLDERS AND THE COUNTRY.

FOR thirty years and more the Abolitionists have been the schoolmasters of the American people. They have had but stiff-necked and froward pupils, who have all along refused to acknowledge the truth of the teachings of their masters. Still the labor has been by no means lost. Though the North has never confessed its sins, but, contrariwise, has continued to make a boast of them, a glimpse of the truth has been forced upon its mind by dint of line upon line and precept upon precept, until it did gather up heart of grace sufficient to choose a President to its own liking, instead of accepting a slaveholding autocrat or a Northern satrap, to rule over it. And this was, unquestionably, the result of anti-slavery preaching and of the consequent disapprobation of slavery, though still falling far short of the abhorrence that is its due, which is the real ground of the present rebellion of the slave States. For this assertion we have the authority of Mr. Rhett of South Carolina, of Mr. Hilliard of Alabama, and of many other intelligent Secessionists. And they were wise in their generation, arguing from their own pro-slavery premises, though most absurdly foolish in their way of carrying their revolution into effect. They saw that the great battle, which began thirty years ago, with Calhoun for leader on the one side and Garrison on the other, was going against them, and that their political position and their domestic institutions would grow more and more insecure as time passed and ideas spread themselves. And in the judicial blindness with which God visits great criminals when their end approaches, they rushed madly upon their destruction, when they might at least have delayed it by many years by a more temperate course.

But though the Abolitionists may justly claim the merit—the rather that it is imputed to them as a crime—of having in some good measure produced that change in Northern opinion which has occasioned this outbreak of Southern desperation, it is their own criminal folly that the slaveholders have mainly to thank for it. They seem to be bent on proving that everything the Abolitionists have ever said about them is an exact truth, or erring only on the side of understatement. They have been demonstrating the utter ruin which a system that subjects one race of men to the absolute control of another race, denying to them every natural, civil and social right, brings upon the men it makes tyrants as well as those it makes slaves. The utter disorganization of the moral nature, which is worked by the possession of absolute power on a small scale, is now in the process of demonstration before mankind. They are proving themselves base, treacherous, thievish, lying, cruel and unscrupulous to a degree almost beyond belief or even imagination. After having been cockered and pampered by the nation, and allowed to have their own way in everything for seventy years, they turn upon it and seek to tear it in pieces, on pretence of the first appearance of contradiction. Men who owe everything they have in the world—their education, their rank, their very power of mischief—to the nation, hasten to turn all they are and have to its destruction. Those who have been placed in the highest posts of trust and honor, abuse them, to strip the nation that has promoted and enriched them of all its treasures and all its means of defence, so as to leave it naked to its enemies. The public property everywhere within the slaveholding States is seized by fraud or force, while private debts are openly and unblushingly repudiated, and personal dishonesty erected into a public virtue. And the loyal and honest part of the Southern community is either compelled to compliance or at least to silence by terrorism, or driven into exile and beggary, if not tortured and put to death. They have certainly bettered the worst descriptions of them that anti-slavery fanaticism in its wildest moments ever painted.

And all this self-exposure was necessary to make the Northern people really understand what a hideous barbarism they were helping to maintain and extend. It was hard to believe that the soft-spoken, well-bred, accomplished men who came every summer to our sea-shores and mountains were in reality the thieves, liars and barbarians they have shown themselves to be. It did not seem as if so black and bloody a nature could be hidden under that thin varnish. And yet there were but few of those polished gentlemen that would not forget their acquired good manners and start up into the brutal slave-driver the moment the question of slavery was broached. And these, too, were but the picked specimens of the very highest and smallest class, who had spent their youth and received their education either at the North or in Europe. Mr. Olmsted has brought us acquainted with the material barbarism, the utter want of refinement, the coarse and brutal manners and the rude inhospitality of the great mass of the slaveholders even of the wealthier class. But it is the better description of them that the North has usually seen the most nearly, and only themselves could have so completely stripped themselves of the character of high-mindedness, honor and courage which they had established by their own boasting pretensions. None but the lowest and the basest, they who delighted in grovelling before them and accepting their insults as favors—*The Heralds* and *The Couriers* and the men they represent—are now left poor enough to do them reverence, and even they have to dissemble their baseness under a show of decency. But there is nothing, perhaps, that has helped so powerfully towards the undeceiving of the North as the occasion which has been made of public duty to cover private dishonesty. Two hundred millions of Southern debts is the estimate of the commercial papers as to the amount lost by the merchants of the North through the shameless refusal of their debtors even to attempt to pay them. Slavery first made them hopeless bankrupts and then impudent ones.

We think that the slave-masters must have now lost forever that *prestige* in the Northern mind which was the stronghold of their power. It may be that a false peace or a hollow truce may be patched up, though it is hard to see how it is possible, but there never can be again that sentiment which had been educated to feel that they were the rightful lords of the ascendant. It is difficult to see how any reconciliation can now be effected. Though such a one would be vastly for the benefit—indeed, essential to the existence—of the slaveholders, as such, one can scarcely see the terms on which it could be negotiated. Everything they had ever asked had been already offered to them. The one issue of the Lincoln campaign had been yielded in their favor by Mr. Adams's New Mexico proposition. Mr. Seward had declared that anything should be granted rather than the Union should be dissolved. They had only to dictate their terms and maintain an armed neutrality in the Union to be sure of more than they had ever asked or even thought. But they would none of them. They meant Secession and not Concession. It is very true they did this under most false ideas as to the help they were to have from the North. The Bennetts and Woods and Lunts, and all that sort of vermin, had been assuring them, that the men of property of the North were with them, and that Secession would end, not in Separation, but in Reconstruction. It was to be a new government, under the Montgomery Constitution, with slavery for its corner-stone and free speech and a free press buried under it, and with Breckinridge for its head and Jefferson Davis for his prime minister, yet a government embracing all the old domain, that was to rise out of the ruins of the old one. The sordid wretches who thus deceived their Southern masters were, perhaps, deceived themselves. Possibly, they really thought the great mass of the opponents of Mr. Lincoln as abandoned and vile as they knew themselves to be. But, happily, they were mistaken, and only led their dupes into the snare in which they now seem to be inextricably entangled.

We cannot foresee the precise course of the war just opening between the North and the South. We cannot foretell how the various currents of that heady fight will set and shift. But we know that it must put forward the date of the Great Deliverance by many years. It may come through the great stimulus the interruption of the pursuits of peace must give to the production of cotton in other regions of the earth. It may come through insurrection. It may come by treaty with the North, as a condition of readmission into its society. But that, in one way or another, it is to be a sharp threshing instrument in the hand of God to rebuke and abate this wickedness, is as certain as his existence. And this is felt even by those Northern men who disclaim the idea the loudest. Our business now is to keep this idea constantly before the mind of the anti-slavery part of the nation, so that they shall consent to no settlement of this warfare except on the basis of freedom to the slave, on the soil, be it more or less, that belongs to them at its close. The anti-slavery idea now dominates the nation, and it has only to be kept pure and powerful to guide it to freedom, glory and prosperity such as the world has never yet seen.

RESIGNATION OF FRANCIS JACKSON, ESQ.

BOSTON, May 1, 1861.

To the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

DEAR FRIENDS: I am admonished, by failing health, to decline a reelection to the office of Treasurer of the Society. In making this request, it is not my purpose to escape from any duty to the Society that I am able to perform, but only from that which is beyond my ability to fulfil.

For months past, my health has been too feeble to attend to any business, and I fear it may be so for months to come. Having held the office of Treasurer for the last seventeen years, I respectfully request the Society to discharge me from that office.

With the highest respect for the principles and measures of the Society, and the most ardent desire for the complete accomplishment of its mission,

FRANCIS JACKSON.

BOSTON, May 5, 1861.

DEAR MR. JACKSON: Your letter to the Executive Committee, announcing the necessity of your resigning the office of Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society on account of your long-continued illness, was read at their last meeting, and listened to by every member with feelings of profound sympathy. Under the circumstances, they could with no propriety urge you to recall the resignation; and, accordingly, they regretfully accepted it—choosing as your successor our esteemed associate, WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., who kindly consented to serve, and whose eminent fitness will be pleasurably recognized by you.

We were desired to convey to you, in behalf of the Executive Committee, and also of the Society, an expression of their heartfelt gratitude for the disinterested, valuable, and efficient service which you have so long rendered the anti-slavery cause as Treasurer, in addition to the discharge of other official duties, and the bestowal of a large amount of private labor and generous aid—all given with an unreserved consecration and an unfaltering purpose worthy of the sacred object in view—namely, the liberation of every slave on the American soil. They proffer you their highest regards personally, and their earnest trust that you may be spared to witness the entire extinction of the slave system (in view of which event, both heaven and earth will rejoice), before you are summoned to enter a higher and wider sphere of existence.

In discharging this duty, we beg you to accept the assurances of our warmest esteem, and our profoundest veneration for your character.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

SUSPENSION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

IT is much to be regretted that the Abolitionists of the West did not rally unitedly and earnestly to the support of the paper which had so long and so gallantly borne up their flag in the presence of the enemies of freedom. *The Bugle* has always been a bold and uncompromising defender of the cause, and in the seventeen years of its existence it has done much to enlighten, elevate and strengthen the anti-slavery sentiment of the Western States. No paper published at the East can hope to meet, as fully as *The Bugle* has done, the special wants of Western Abolitionists; but as the arrangement for supplying the subscribers to that paper with THE STANDARD, to the full amount of their respective advance payments, has been consummated, it will be our study to make this paper a useful and welcome visitor in every household to which it may be thus introduced. Nothing shall be wanting on our part to win the permanent support of our Western friends to the organ of the Parent Society; and in our efforts to this end we hope to have their hearty cooperation.

It seems that the statement we made last week, viz., that *The Bugle* was suspended because the Committee of the Western Society could not command the means for its support, was not *literally* true. We give place to Mrs. Foster's correction:

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

In your last issue you state that *The Anti-Slavery Bugle* was suspended because the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society found it impossible to command the means for its continuance.

This is a mistake. The means for the support of the paper, up to the Society's next annual meeting in September, were guaranteed.

Why the Executive Committee should take upon themselves the responsibility of killing off the paper by suspension remains to be explained. It would seem more fit to have left the fate of the paper to the decision of its proprietors at their regular anniversary.

Yours, for "No union with slaveholders,"

A. K. FOSTER.

To set the matter right before our readers, we publish the official record of the action of the Western Committee:

From The Bugle of May 4.

The following is an extract from the minutes of a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, held April 21st, 1861.

"The question of the suspension of *The Bugle*, which was considered at the last meeting of the Committee in February, was taken up for reconsideration, and after a full and free comparison of views, the following preamble and resolution were adopted.

"Whereas, The great alterations which have recently occurred in the relations of the two sections of the country to each other render it impossible to prosecute anti-slavery field labor to advantage—a condition of things not contemplated by the Committee when it accepted Mrs. Foster's proposition to make up any deficiency in means for the publication of *The Bugle* until the 1st of September, and which utterly precludes the possibility of making collections for its support, either by donations or subscriptions, in a community whose pecuniary means and interest are so wholly absorbed by the question of war, as is the case with the people of the West, therefore

"Resolved, That this Committee find it necessary to decide upon the present suspension of *The Anti-Slavery Bugle*, and hereby direct that the issue of the paper cease on the 4th of May."

The above explains itself, and is the announcement of a purpose which a majority of the Executive Committee have had in contemplation for some time, and which would have sooner been resolved upon, had it not been for an arrangement proposed by Mrs. Foster, and accepted by the Committee.

We have only to add an expression of our earnest desire and hope, that each one of the subscribers to *The Bugle*, upon the expiration of the term for which he has paid for that paper, will promptly subscribe for THE STANDARD.

WANT OF ROOM.—We are compelled to defer several articles for which we desired to find room this week—among them a very interesting letter from our Philadelphia correspondent, an editorial notice of the anti-Cheever "Ex-Parte Council" lately held in this city, a letter from Aaron M. Powell, etc. The space at our command for the "Chronicles of the War" was not sufficient to enable us to do any sort of justice to the subject.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT: ITS PAST AND PRESENT.

ADDRESS,

Delivered before the Church Anti-Slavery Society, at its Anniversary, May 6, 1861, in the Church of the Puritans, New York.

By REV. JAMES A. THOME, of Cleveland, Ohio.

MR. PRESIDENT, BRETHREN, REMEMBERERS OF THEM THAT ARE IN BONDS AS BOUND WITH THEM: I come from the beautiful city of the Lakes to greet you here. We have come together from sundry places to join, not with each other only, but with myriads throughout the land, and with myriads more in other lands, and with a multitude of the heavenly host, in shouting the chorus, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will to men!"

This song of peace is no more discordant with the notes of war that have been resounding through our country for the last month than it was with the martial spirit of the Roman Empire when its pacific message was first announced. It was then the exultant prophecy of a distant future; now it is the joyful prelude of approaching fulfilment. We cannot doubt that the angels, in their anthem at the nativity, caught inspiration from the thrilling scenes of our times. We cannot doubt that they are now making ready for an outburst of gratulation unheard as yet in heaven. Peradventure the strains may reach our ears, if we be not too profoundly asleep.

Fellow-laborers, fellow-sufferers, for the oppressed! we are on the eve of victory! The cause of anti-slavery, of anti-slaveholding, of anti-man-stealing, is about to triumph gloriously. We hail the signals of swift coming deliverance to the chattel captive. Oppressors and taskmasters through all the South have taken up arms, in effect, to liberate their slaves. They are in hot haste, they rush headlong to their own fate, and to achieve freedom for millions on "the perilous edge of battle." Surely redemption draweth nigh. "The morning cometh, and also the night": a short interval of night, black and horrent with war; then morning, morning to the sable children of Africa, who, in Christian America, have found a deeper darkness than broods over their father-land.

The times have been when, for anti slavery reformers to look back, would have been to incur the doom of Lot's wife; and, indeed, there are many pillars of salt along the track of this movement which remain to this day, and will stand to the end of time, beacons of false conservatism and base concession. But the time has now come to look back at the numerous Ebenezers which memorialize the mighty help of the Lord, and beyond these to the memorable era when God said unto his chosen servants, Speak unto Pharaoh that he let my people go, that they may serve me. We look back twenty-seven years, to 1834, the birth-year of freedom to Great Britain's West India chattels, and the date of the first anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Twenty-seven years ago, in this month of May, in this consecrated week, while the First of August, set apart beforehand for a great imperial act of abolition, shed bright auspices from the Caribbean Isles, the cause of emancipation was born in this uncongenial metropolis. A brave thing was that bringing forth. It was no such temple as this that was the honored birthplace of this Christ-like reform. It was a sort of Caravansera, an extemporized inn, where unclean and hideous creatures, worse than fourfooted beasts, had been wont to herd for nightly orgies; it was the old Chatham street Theatre. It had been recently converted into a rude Chapel, for Charles G. Finney, the revivalist, the harbinger of this reform, to preach in, and to preach from to city and nation the arousing gospel of immediate repentance of sin and complete redemption in Christ. We do not disparage the revival of which Mr. Finney was the honored instrument, when we say it ushered in this Christian reform. Of this, subsequent Church history will have a grateful record to make.

It was amid such hallowed auspices, and in such a place of gospel proclamations, that the first anniversary of our cause was held. If any of you were there, you will, I am sure, be ready, after the lapse of so many years, still to bear your testimony to the vast moral power that was concentrated in that meeting. New York was moved, as it seldom ever has been, by an assemblage of peaceable, praying men and women. From New England, from the West, yea, and from the South, the actors in that opening drama were marvellously called together. The city contributed from its merchant princes Arthur Tappan, the first President and munificent supporter of the cause, and Lewis Tappan, the Granville Sharpe of America. Beriah Green, the Oneida chief, was there; and Charles Stuart, the great-hearted Englishman, whose sympathies, like the Gulf stream, flowed warmly from hemisphere to hemisphere. There was William Lloyd Garrison, the agitator, the liberator, with the brand of the Baltimore prison upon him, and John G. Whittier, on whose broad brow had fallen the baptism of bard to the holy cause. There was Joshua Leavitt, *facile princeps* among reporters and editors, with his *Evangelist*, espousing the reform; and William Goodell, skilled in moral contests, and passing at a bound from the field of temperance to the battle-ground of human rights, with his editorial banner of *The Emancipator* full high advanced. There too, was Dr. Cox, the Polyglot, then speaking for the enslaved; and another, a fine enthusiast, aglow with zeal for emancipation, and in rhapsodies over the burial that day of colonization, Henry G. Ludlow. The champions of colonization, then in its glory, were there, too, the Blagdens, the Bethunes, the Brainerds, the Breckinridges, the Gurleys, some of whom have fallen asleep, other some still cleave with unavailing devotion to that defunct body, while others have done service since, with strangely misguided eloquence, for other organizations quite as defunct: sons of Sysiphus these, doomed

"Up the high hill to heave the huge round stone"

which ever gravitates toward the abyss. There, also, were the representatives of the secular press of the city, the sentinels of commerce and cotton, to sound the alarm and shout treason and disunion, when that black craft, the American Anti-Slavery Society, weighed anchor, and rounded into action with a sweeping broadside.

Among the strong men on that platform stood a youth whose claim to be heard at such a time rested in his peculiar relations. He was from a slave State, the son of a slaveholder, the heir of slave property; and, at the same time, predestined for the ministry in the Southern wing of the then undivided Presbyterian Church. That young Kentuckian, not yet out of his minority, was converted to the incendiary doctrine of immediate emancipation. This was in consequence of a providence that led him into the new theological seminary at Cincinnati. History will tell how the famous Lane Seminary, a product of the revival era, located on Walnut Hills to command the great Mississippi valley, and filled at the start with a host of earnest young men, all looking over the valley as their field, or beyond it to the heathen world, was suddenly turned by the evident power of the Lord to look southward, and to bear down with all its spiritual forces on the worse than heathenish system of human sacrifice and soul merchandise, whose gloomy altar-crowned hills were in sight, and the wail of whose victims might almost be heard at that school of the prophets. During the first year an anti-slavery revival broke out; and the students, fresh from revival scenes, were reconverted. A Society was at once organized, which, applying the gospel principles to which the Seminary was pledged, declared that slaveholding was a sin and ought to be repented of, and that immediate emancipation was the work meet for repentance. This was the Lord's work, and it will be so declared in the coming day of jubilee, though the wise master-builders of the school rejected it, in an evil hour, and brought a lasting blight upon a seminary whose early promise was transcendant. That valorous little Society on Walnut Hills determined to send a representative to the first anniversary here. The choice, for obvious reasons, fell on the converted Kentuckian. To obey that call was to sever himself from native land, from home endearments, from cherished prospects. But a new-born zeal inspired his breast, and a living sacrifice of himself to Christ for the deliverance of the enslaved comprehended all surrenders and disarmed all terrors. He came, he spoke. Feeble were his boyish words, but the power of truth was in them, the power of God was with them, and slavedom heard them. It could not but be disturbed, though it then reposed securely in the embrace of the Federal Union, under the protection of the Church unities; it could not but be disturbed by that first outcry against it in so public a manner by one of its own sons, one of its own priesthood.

So, sir, was the anti-slavery reform, as a national movement, inaugurated, seven and twenty years ago. The cycle of a generation has been nearly completed, and the young Kentuckian of 1834 stands before you this evening, bearing, as you see, the marks of service and solicitude, but bating "no jot of heart or hope."

When has the world seen such a quarter of a century! And they who had the good fortune to begin active life at its commencement, and the good sense and soul to espouse the anti-slavery reform, and have kept step with its sublime march, fighting in its campaigns, have won a precocious title to the crown of glory, the hoary head. As to the trials that have specially fallen to my lot, the virtual banishment, the outlawry, the aspersions, the persecutions, the perils, the hair-breadth escapes from lynch-law executions, and from Fugitive Slave law executioners—these sufferings of the past are not worthy to be compared with the progress witnessed, with the perpetual good cheer of a noble enlistment, with the divine joy set before me, with the glory which shall be revealed in the liberation of my enslaved brethren, and the redemption of my country and Zion from vassalage to the Slave Power.

In this seven and twenty years, I seem to have lived an age; so have I been contending with this Apollyon, so have I been mourning for millions, so have the shrieks of lacerated captives, and the wails of bereaved mothers, and the piteous cries of distained virgins, been continually in my ears; so have I cried day and night unto God, the Deliverer, praying with all prayer for all saints in bonds as bound with them, throwing the weight of strenuous deprecation against the encroachments of the Slave Power, importuning still in hope deferred and faith long tried, expostulating oft with, How long, O Lord! how long! eying providences and striving to decypher their hieroglyphics, watching for projectiles from Heaven's batteries that should storm the bulwarks of oppression, waiting momently for God with outstretched arm to strike off the chains of chattelism from his elect.

During this long period there has been no rest; without have been fightings, within have been fears. It has been a principle with me from the outset to be not a whit behind the most ultra Abolitionist. If I could not go with every one, I have endeavored to go as far as the foremost, for I have seen at every step that God was in advance of all others. Ultraism, in the right direction and with the right spirit, has been evidently to me the only sound conservatism. There has been much fanaticism along with this reform, some of the fanaticism of fierceness, but tenfold more of the tenfold worse fanaticism of fear. The most discreditable and inexcusable things have been said and done against anti-slavery by professed anti-slavery people, who, for every faint Yea of theirs, have spoken two thundering Nays. With the Lord it has been, Yea, yea, and amen. Hence I have always said, Yea, yea, everlasting yea, to the movement, if not to the motives and the men. "Some, indeed, preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good-will. What then? Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." A blessing, therefore, have I pronounced, in the name of the Lord, on every sturdy blow that has been struck at slavery, whether the weapon employed has been after the most approved pattern or no, and whether the arm that dealt it wore the Federal uniform, or the Zouave costume, or showed the bare and blackened brawn of a Vulcan.

"Charge, Chester, charge!
On, Stanley, on!"

is the battle-cry my heart has shouted to the brave exterminators, without respect of persons; to the Sumners in the Senate, and to the "Old Osawatomies" on the border; and when these heroes have been struck down in the fight, I have no more thought of branding the one as a madman than the other. Yet I know there is a divine madness which the hatred of oppression infuses into noble minds. The madmen whom oppression makes out of wise men are the mighty men whom God sends into the lion's den.

Entertaining these views, I have cordially responded to the invitation to speak at the Anniversary of the Church Anti-Slavery Society. It may seem to some that there is now little occasion to speak. It may be said, The time has come for ACTION. The time has always been for that. Speech has never excluded action; neither should action exclude speech. Twenty-seven years ago the plea was, It is too early to speak; now, It is too late. But "Wisdom is justified of her children," always. Even at this day, and in this crisis, "Wisdom is better than weapons of war." While young men are rushing to battle, it is time for old men to gather for counsel, and for moral conflict too. Let us, then, not refrain from speaking at this time, lest, if we altogether hold our peace, the stones of the street should cry out against us, in the name of all the martyrs. Let us utter wise words and strong, which shall be as swords in the hand of the Spirit.

I bring the same message that I bore in 1834: American slavery is a sin—a grievous, heaven-daring, gigantic sin; and it ought to be renounced and put away. The casuistry of seven and twenty years has not prevailed to set aside this *dictum*. It stands to-day in full force. It has gathered about it proofs innumerable and irresistible. What is the *sinful essence* of slavery, the vicious principle in it? *Property in man.* The system that denies this, rejects this, is not slavery. The man who rejects this, abjures it in word and in deed, is not a slaveholder. Slavery is always sinful, because it asserts the lie that a man may be rightfully converted into a chattel, and does the damnable wrong of so converting him. The slaveholder is always a sinner, because he affirms this lie of hell, and perpetrates this hideous act. If he does not say and do this, he is no slaveholder. Any argument that will prove him not a sinner will prove him not a slaveholder, not a man-stealer. If it seem too sweeping to say unqualifiedly, Slaveholding is sinful, it is equally so to say, Slavery is sinful. If there be a slaveholding that involves no sin, there is to that extent a slavery that involves no sin; and this is not slaveholding at all, not slavery at all. Why contend about words, and "palter in a double sense"?

We have to struggle with a terrible reality, with a well-defined miscreant. Let us grasp the principle, and grapple with the practice under it, and seize upon the actual transgressor. Let us act in this matter just as all patriots now feel called upon to act in reference to treason and traitors. Do we hear denunciations of treason, and apologies for traitors? This would not be tolerated in the streets of New York. Every good citizen is now expected to cry, not only "Down with treason," but, in louder tones, "Death to traitors." Yet it were easy to make pleas in behalf of supposable and actual cases of men acting with the Secessionists, through coercion or otherwise, who are not with them in spirit, not traitors at heart. This reform could not have had the Divine sanction if it had dealt only with the abstract question. It found everybody saying, "Slavery is a very bad thing, but—" Should it say no more? What did it say? It struck off the disjunctive *but*, and put on the conjunctive *and;* then it went on to say, "Slavery is a very bad thing, *and* slaveholding is a very wicked thing, *and* the slaveholder is a very great sinner." Yes, it cut its way boldly through the venerable abstractions of the day, treating them as obstructions, and breaking into the charmed circle which had been drawn and sacredly guarded between the very bad thing, slavery, and the pious slaveholder; between abominable adultery, and the chivalrous adulterer; it confronted him, and said, Thou art the man!

And mark the logical precision with which our reform has marched to its conclusions from such premises, moved by the Spirit, and armed with the weapons of the foregoing revival. Slavery is sin, slaveholding is sin, the slaveholder is a sinner; therefore he must be dealt with, whether he be in Church or outside, *as a sinner.* He must be reproved, enlightened, convicted, and called to repentance before God. Repentance admits of no parleying; it must be instant, unreserved. Instant repentance involves immediate emancipation, the practical renunciation of property in man. To refuse this, is to withstand God, to resist the Holy Ghost, and incur the pains of hell. So evangelical has this reform been. It has declared the whole counsel of God, whether men would hear or forbear. It has pressed repentance of the sin of slaveholding as a duty in the sight of God, and the condition, with faith, of gaining his forgiveness and favor. It has proclaimed emancipation as the only safety, the only salvation, temporally, to slave and to slaveholder. It has held that no legislation could take out the sinfulness from slaveholding, that no legal restrictions could excuse the slaveholder from repentance, and that no Federal compact could bind the people of the free States and the Christians of the Churches, to a toleration of this great iniquity and a fraternization with the wrong-doers. It has held that slavery is accursed of God, and that the slaveholder, as such, has no rights which either white men or black men are bound to respect. It has proclaimed that "slavery is the sum of all villanies," and that the slaveholder is guilty of the whole. It has contended, of course, that the Bible, in every syllable of it, is opposed to American slavery; that the Mosaic institutes utterly exclude human chattelism; that the law of love makes every man a brother, and fulminates its penalties at the slaveholder; that the gospel of redemption claims every blood-bought captive as a freeman of the Lord; that Jesus Christ assumes to be the only Master, and asserts that all men are brethren, and teaches those who would be chiefs to become so by being the servants of the humblest. The anti-slavery reform has thus employed the Word of God as its main battery. To this worthy service has it put the Bible. And it has vindicated the Holy Scriptures from the infamous imputation that they sanctioned and sanctified slaveholding. Yes, this reform has rescued the Bible from the hands of pro-slavery commentators and slaveholding divines.

Who will say that this has been an anti-Bible reform? And I ask further, Who will now say that the anti-slavery movement has been an anti-Christian or an anti-Church movement? Born, as we have said, in a revival era, it was baptized by the consecration of living Christians, and it has been borne forward on the prayers of God's people. Its leaders have ever implored "the sacramental host of God's elect" to combine for the overthrow of the American Antichrist; and they have conjured the fathers of the Churches, the ministers of all denominations, to rise above their sectarian distinctions, and form a holy alliance against this child of the devil, this enemy of all righteousness, this ceaseless perverter of the right ways of God. If the Churches have not responded, where lies the blame? where is the unchristian conduct? If the ecclesiastical bodies have not come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, what wonder if the Reformers, jealous for their Master's honor and his cause, have sometimes cursed these inhabitants of Meroz, ever bitterly?

I affirm unhesitatingly that the anti-slavery movement has been, in spirit and in effect, an anti-sin movement. It has, indeed, drawn in men who have no radical ideas of sin as a transgression of God's law, strong men, nevertheless, fired with the spirit of liberty; for there is such a power in the world as "the irresistible genius of universal emancipation." And these men have imparted momentum to the movement, but they have not given character to it, they have not demoralized it. It has been God's own movement, and it has been mainly entrusted to the people of the saints of the Most High. It has been a movement of the Church, of the Church invisible; albeit, I mourn to say, the Church visible has been largely found fighting against it. Ah! this has been a sad spectacle—God urging forward, by his providence and his Spirit, a grand enterprise of humanity, fraught with untold benefits to the world, and the great embodiments of Church power strenuously opposing, denouncing, deprecating, disclaiming, defaming the enterprise! Heaven's artillery planted against American slavery, heaven's hosts hasting to exterminate the intolerable wrong and outrage, while all the ecclesiastical batteries, to the right, to the left, in front and in rear, have "volleyed and thundered" upon the feeble band, upon the fearless six hundred, "while all the world wondered."

But I must not leave this dark picture unrelieved. At the risk of being misunderstood here, and misrepresented possibly elsewhere, I must say that this conflict has not been between the anti-slavery cause and the Church of Christ. Never, never, never. It has been a conflict between freedom and ecclesiasticism. And I bless God that our reform has been appointed to encounter in the way this adversary of Christianity, this usurper of Christ's prerogatives, hierarchy. It has disrupted the national ecclesiastical organizations, which, at the outset of this reform, were accumulating immense power. The arm of their power is now broken, the pride of their glory has been stained. Conservative of their prestige, their peace, their prosperity, they have shunned this unpopular and pestilent cause, they have refused to utter their testimony against slavery as a sin, and to proceed against slaveholding communicants as sinners; they have persisted in throwing around them the arms of Christian fellowship; they have given the full sanction of their spiritual authority to the enormities of slavery; they have clung, for the sake of denominational unity and aggrandizement, to the Southern Churches of their respective orders, and countenanced them in their guilty complicity, till they have seceded from them, but seceded without purging them of the deadly taint. Thus have the hierarchies shown themselves unreliable depositories of Church powers; and the people of God, long taught to venerate them, are losing respect for them, are distrusting and renouncing them, and are turning to the local Churches as the only organisms entitled to be called Churches, and to be reputed and loved as such. This is a great gain, a great deliverance, Yes. The reform we advocate is not more surely destined to emancipate the slaves than to liberate the saints from the yoke of hierarchy. And let me here say, sir, that if it be any part of the aim of this Church Anti-Slavery Society to bring the hierarchical bodies of the land to open their batteries upon slaveholding, it will be a bootless undertaking. They have been thoroughly tried. It is too late to look for aid from that quarter. They will not destroy slavery, but slavery and anti-slavery together will destroy them. This movement of God is exceeding broad, and wide-sweeping. It reaches to chattelism on one side, and to Hierarchy on the other. It is to redeem the nation and the Church.

Then let your Society look to the several local Churches, let it enlist the individual pastors, let it appeal to the Christian communions, to the households of faith scattered abroad over the free States, let it summon all the pulpits to cry aloud and spare not, and all the prayer-meetings to cry day and night unto God; let it do this—let it do the work of a "donkey-engine," subserving, supplying, stimulating the mighty enginery of the Churches; let it humbly wait as a pony engine at every depôt and heavy up-grade, to help the regular locomotives start the long trains of gospel forces. Who will forbid it? Who will challenge its function? Who will spurn its proffered help, in such a cause, at such a crisis as this?

The chief mission of your Society is to enunciate the *principia* of the anti-slavery reform. In all its phases the movement has been essentially one, and the central principle of it, as proclaimed in the beginning, "Slavery is a sin," has inhered in it from the first day until now. When it was simply a moral reform, this was its watch-word; when it became an ecclesiastical question, this was its burthen; when it grew into a political cause, this doctrine, whether recognized and honored or not, underlaid its platform; when its party triumphed by the magnificent array of all the free States, the power that achieved this victory was no less than the power of God enforcing the doctrine—*Slavery is sin.* And now, sir, that this movement has assumed the form of a war, the same principle, appealing to the consciences of all good people, and conjuring all Christians to cleanse their own skirts of this iniquity, and to rid the nation of the clinging curse, gives character to the war, makes it a sacred contest, invests it with unspeakable interest, associates it with incalculable issues. This should be the war-cry—*Slavery is sin.* Now, sir, now is the time for this proclamation to be sounded and resounded from all the pulpits that would not be recreant to Christ in the day of battle. Let all religious presses send out this clarion note—Slavery is sin. Let all anti-slavery organs publish everywhere—Slavery is sin. This Church Anti-Slavery Society has its mission herein. Now let it cry aloud. "Who knoweth whether it hath come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" Out with this word, this word of God—Slavery is sin. Hang out this streamer; let it float where the stars and stripes wave. Say boldly, Not Treason only has stained the flag of freedom, but Slavery, the foster mother of treason. Say to the people, the indignant, aroused people, Yonder Southern traitors are now in arms against the Republic because they have been bred to rebellion against God and man in the school of slavery. They have been nursed in the bosom of the Union, and now the full-grown brood raise the adder's crest; but they have always been adders, only their slaves hitherto have been the victims of their venom. Think not that the needful work will be done when the leading traitors are brought to justice, and the rebellion is quelled. No, the egg must be crushed, slavery must be wiped out—*Delenda est Carthago.*

This great war movement is impelled by religious sentiments. The sense of right, devotion to principle, love to God and to man, are the animating forces Praying men have seized the sword in the name of the Lord, praying regiments have marched forward taking the prayer-meeting with them, bearing the ark of the Lord against the rebels. Churches have sent forth their young men from the communion table, with the hands of ordination upon them. All the pulpits are proclaiming the holy war. Pulpits that protested against political preaching, yea, and pulpits that teemed with pro-slavery political sermons, are now sounding the trump of battle. This is well. We forget past delinquencies in joy for present zeal. We hail this as a splendid fulfilment of the prophetic war song, "My people shall be willing in the day of my power." This now is our only care, that the conviction, so general, that the war is for the establishment of principles, should be deep enough to be controlling and achieving. We only ask that the fundamental doctrine—slaveholding is sinful in the sight of God—be accepted, be proclaimed, be taken into the bosom of the movement, that it be embraced by the Churches of Christ, and preached by his ministers everywhere. This, with the blessing of God, which we are sure will attend such teaching, will give a full moral tone and unmistakable religious character to the war; it will inspire Christian confidence, it will enlist believing, earnest prayer, it will strengthen the arm and nerve the soul in battle, it will impart definiteness and depth to the war movement, it will fortify good citizens against the dread that nothing decisive will be achieved, and, more than all, it will secure the favor of God. He will be honored by our recognition of the sinfulness of slaveholding, and by our repentance of all complicities with it: he demands this, as the condition of his going with our armies to the battle. We do, therefore, solemnly and affectionately conjure our brethren in Christ throughout the free States to come up at this time to the help of the Lord against the mighty; we conjure the Churches and the ministry of our Lord Jesus that they be of one mind, and speak one thing; that they give forth no uncertain sound, but proclaim in thunder tones, above all the noise of battle, and harmonious with the war-cries of patriotism, that God is angry with the slaveholder every day; that if he turn not he will whet his sword; that he hath ordained his arrows and made them ready; that the day of the Lord has come, that the days of ignorance God winked at, but that now he commandeth all men everywhere to repent of this grievous iniquity.

Sir, for one, I cannot tolerate the thought that this grand rally of the Churches and the parties and the classes throughout the free States should issue only in the crushing of the present overt rebellion, resembling

"Ocean into tempest tossed,
To waft a feather, or to drown a fly;"

yea, worse, leaving slavery intact to have extended over it again the fostering wing of the Union, that it may breed other rebellions in future, and resume its march of encroachment, and renew its imperious demand for concessions, and go on chaining, tasking, scourging and blasting its millions of chattels. Sir, shall this be? God forbid. In the name of my country, in the name of Zion, in the name of the oppressed, in the name of mercy, I say—God forbid it! Let not so shameful an issue be to this glorious crusade. O let it not be that the simultaneous uprising of freemen, with the smiles of mothers and wives smiling through their tears, and with the benedictions of the saints upon it, should have such an inglorious subsidence. O let the people lift arm and voice and swear, Slavery shall be no more in America! This curse to the nation, this crime against humanity, this sum of all villanies, this arch sin against God, this arch adversary of Zion, shall be blotted out forever. Let me hear this verdict, and my whole heart shall respond, amen! Sir, pardon my emotions! I want to outlive the last American slaveholder. I want to see my native South liberated, my native Kentucky take her place in the sisterhood of free States, and begin the march of prosperity in the highway to glory. Sir, it is the orison of every day that I may be permitted to bear a part at the execution of the giant monster, slavery.

DR. TYNG ON THE WAR.

OF all the addresses of Anniversary Week in this city, there probably was not one that did not contain some allusion to the Slaveholders' Rebellion, its causes or probable consequences; but none appears to have made so deep a sensation as that of Dr. Tyng, the Rector of St. George's, before the American Temperance Union. Unfortunately, the daily papers gave only the briefest outline of his speech, which is declared by many of those who listened to it to have been exceedingly impressive, stirring and eloqu

THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I KNOW not when I have attempted any task with more reluctance than I feel in introducing to any readers I may win the subject of this paper. I have tried to excuse myself—to persuade myself that I might hold my peace consistently with self-respect and the natural claims of the cherished few who repeat my name in friendly tones. But I have not been able to succeed; hence the following suggestions. I offer them with a sadness and apprehension which I rarely feel.

I do not deny that a political excitement widely prevails in our country, occasioned by the attitude which the South has assumed in its relations to the Union. Great numbers, here and there, all abroad, are girding on their armor to fight for what they call "the government." "Rumors of war" are thickly scattered around us, are the occasion of multiplied public meetings and the subject of many a private conversation. "Politics" have found their way into many pulpits, whence they had before been jealously excluded. Now, why should those who, for the last thirty years, had devoted arm and soul to the cause of human freedom, give up the Annual Meeting in which they expected to greet and encourage each other?

"We have now a North"! Then ears willing to listen to any suggestions which the friends of freedom may be disposed to offer must be exceedingly multiplied. Around the earnest, able, consistent Abolitionist, they cannot but eagerly gather in troops and crowds. They are now ready to cheer, encourage, aid him, yield him deep-toned sympathy and effective cooperation. The lessons of wisdom which he now inculcates they are prepared to "receive into good and honest hearts," and bring forth the fruits of the broadest philanthropy "a hundred fold." Surely a more stirring occasion, surely higher encouragement, never quickened his footsteps to the hallowed ground where he might hope in full assembly to see the faces and listen to the voices of his consecrated fellows.

If, instead of such results, he might but too reasonably apprehend discouragement, embarrassment, obstruction, persecution, *what sort of a North* has been vouchsafed? What we have had in the North all along some of us know well enough. A venal, craven, dastardly affair—stupid, malignant, grim—eager to corrupt, degrade, and crush everything significant and sacred in the entire province of humanity. If something radically *other* in character has at length arisen to gladden our eyes and refresh our spirits, surely we might expect *quite other* manifestations, corresponding to the mighty transformation through which it had passed. Why should not the annual gathering of the old Abolitionists at Cooper Institute have afforded to our converted neighbors an opportunity to welcome what they had been accustomed to spurn, to cheer what they had been accustomed to discourage, to aid what they had done their utmost to hinder?

"But others are doing our work." Our work, I have all along supposed, was to promote, word-wise and deed-wise, in the examples we presented and the lessons we inculcated, the welfare of our brothers—especially of our insulted, outraged, crushed brothers. Modesty requires me to speak only for myself, and I say, therefore, that I regard it as my work to define, illustrate, commend, the constructive principles of human nature, to explain and magnify the relations which bind man to man, to insist on the mutual claims of every child of Adam on the human family, and of the human family on every child of Adam; to show that the unity of humanity is so essential, vital, comprehensive, that the wrongs inflicted on one are an injury to all, and the benefits conferred on one are an advantage to all. On this work I feel bound to expend my strength and resources, publicly and privately, amidst all the relations of life, and especially in the relations which identify me with the oppressed and enslaved. This is the work in which "I live and move and have my being," from which I derive discipline, encouragement, blessedness. I cannot relinquish it to others.

But who are these "others"? If they are OTHER than I, how can they perform my work? If they are other than I, the results of their activity will be other than the results of my activity. They must be other in their aims and objects, in their methods and exertions. None but the Abolitionist can by any possibility perform the work of the Abolitionist.

But may not others incidentally open the way for the freedom of the enslaved? They may accidentally be the occasion of a deadly and protracted struggle between the slave and his oppressor. Huge and horrid crimes of every variety and of every degree may be the frightful result. Freedom, in any proper sense of the inspiring word, is not the child of violence, of rapine, rape, and bloodshed. Alas! what chance has the slave, amidst the rage and tumult of war, to honor the all-benignant doctrines of emancipation? Treat him as a man, and he will behave himself manfully, will cherish and respect the rights of those who cherish and respect his rights. It is my work to impress, according to my ability, this grand conclusion on the consciousness of my fellows, wherever I may win my way to their presence. How can *others*, holding aims which I abhor, and employing means which I abhor, do in any respect my work?

Have not these others all along looked with the most cruel indifference on the wrongs, various and deadly, which all along, in their presence, have been inflicted on bleeding humanity? And by wretches with whom they had eagerly identified themselves in the most significant relations? And repeated, applausively and exultingly, the names of the principal figures among them as distinguished patriots and eminent Christians? And, from these, selected the candidates to whom they gave their countenance and support in climbing to the loftiest summits of political power? Have they not seen, not only the enslaved, but their own fellow-citizens murdered by dozens and scores in cold blood, without urging any pointed remonstrance, without offering the least resistance? And are they not now, amidst the excitement and ado which they have helped create, proposing to fight, not for human rights, but in support of "the Union," in which and by which human rights have been crucified? If these others impress their own "image and superscription" on the enterprise with which they are occupied, what results may be expected? When, where, how, have they breathed the first syllable of good-will towards chattelized humanity?

But I forget that they have encouraged and defended the South, as oppressors and enslavers, through "*magnanimity*"! Indeed! Am I to impute the insults and injuries to which the friends of freedom have all along and everywhere been exposed, to the "magnanimity" of the creatures by whom they have been assailed? Attempts were very recently made, all along from Buffalo to Albany, in the principal cities of New York, to suffocate "the right of speech" in those by whom, on the gravest subjects and occasions, it was especially represented, with whom I can never forget I was associated. Assaults were made upon us, gratuitous and unprovoked, with the consent, if not at the instance, of the political parties and the religious sects—assaults virulent and desperate—to reassure and conciliate the South as the home of oppression. Indignities, abominably obscene as well as tragically malignant, were openly thrown into the faces of some of our truest and most magnanimous citizens in Central New York, without bringing the patriotism of any of the parties in Church or State to the rescue of outraged virtue.

All this, it is now discovered, was magnanimity in disguise! Shall we go upon our knees and confess our obligations to the heroes of Buffalo, and Rochester, and Auburn, and Syracuse, and Utica, and Albany, for their magnanimity in spitting in our faces, thrusting their gags in our mouths, when we attempted to say a word in behalf of crushed humanity? But we regarded them as mercenary, when lo! they now manifest a warmer interest in something else than in money. Had we better ask their "pardon" for charging them with preferring pelf to principle? Let it first be shown that they do not postpone both the one and the other to PASSION. They are, for the moment, almost mad enough to wring the nose of the South for struggling to break away from their fond embrace. That the South should practise rapine, rape, and murder, according to the edicts which itself had enacted, on helpless innocence, this never stirred their blood or excited their indignation; but that it should refuse longer to interchange with them kisses and caresses, this they stormfully resent. They bow down to a shabby and smutty idol and worship it at a great expense. What then? *This, in various ways, they have always been a doing.* They are only adapting what we have always known to be *themselves* to a superficial change of circumstances. That is all. I, for one, have no pardon to ask for treating them characteristically.

Why should I expect that in any case the *effect* will be essentially *other* than the cause? What can it be but the cause in exercise and manifestation? "Good" must "be built up on good alone." *War* is essentially and everlastingly in conflict with those laws which are the soul and substance of human virtue and the general welfare. "*Inter arma, leges silent.*" The obligation which binds them to the Eternal Throne men heed not on the battle-field. And it is universally and everlastingly to be affirmed, that whatsoever they "sow, *that* also shall they reap"—if they sow "the wind," "whirlwinds" await them as the natural harvest. These great conclusions no measure of general excitement, no fits of flashy patriotism, no sudden rush to the defence of a Union, which its tallest, stoutest official champions declare is the strongest proof of human slavery, can neutralize or invalidate. We shall derive *from* war what is involved *in* war, and nothing else. The Infinite Wisdom will undoubtedly bring all the hells, the hell of war among the rest, into subserviency to grand and all-beneficent designs. But I like none of them any better for that. I can "see the salvation of God" only in the presence and development of the godlike.

BERIAH GREEN.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, May 13, 1861.

THE progress of the government in its efforts to suppress the pro-slavery rebellion undoubtedly strikes a portion of the people of the North as being *slow*. At one time your correspondent was somewhat of this opinion, but, upon getting at all the facts in the case, he is convinced that the government is advancing quite as rapidly as circumstances will allow.

The cry of "On to Richmond!" may be well enough to excite enthusiasm, but no prudent General will lead raw troops into an enemy's country until they are in a proper condition to sustain a forced march and win a battle. The government should strike quick and heavy blows, but in its desire to strike quickly it should not risk a terrible defeat.

Now, it is a fact that the government is not ready to commence a great war this day. The troops are not sufficiently well equipped and drilled for an offensive war. Those who cry out so earnestly for an immediate occupation of Alexandria and Harper's Ferry overlook these facts, and forget the terrible consequences of a reverse on the field in the beginning of the campaign. We must see to it that not a single battle is lost to freedom and the Union—*not one.* Gen. Scott is maturing his plans, and unless I am greatly mistaken, he will triumph in the end.

A great many people were pained because the President and Gen. Scott did not instantly march the Federal troops through Baltimore, at a time when we were not prepared for hostilities in Baltimore or Maryland, and which would very likely have resulted in the loss of the Capital. So Gen. Scott *went round* Baltimore till he saw that Washington was reasonably safe—till he was in a manner prepared to punish Baltimore if she should prove refractory. *The troops come through.* Was not the course pursued by Gen. Scott a wise one? This whole affair, from beginning to end, is the key to the plan for the campaign. He is cautious—means to save as many men as possible—will run no real risk of losing a battle if it can be avoided—and will, in the end, succeed.

The health of Gen. Scott is not as good as one could wish. The anxieties of this great crisis in our affairs evidently wear upon him. Physically he is very feeble, but in intellect never more clear and capable. This, at least, is the judgment of those who have most to do with him. An incident occurred, a few days ago, which illustrates his sagacity and soldierly acumen. A scout came in with the report that he saw, a few miles out of Richmond, rebel troops numbering one hundred thousand men. Gen. Scott did not seem to be at all alarmed at this story, but very quietly began to question his informant. "Did you notice any wagons—any large array of provisions?" asked the General. "Why, no," replied the Scout, "I did not. The troops were for the most part without tents, and, so far as I could see, had few provisions with them." "And you are certain that you had a good view of the troops?" "Oh, yes!" replied the scout; "I was upon a hill which gave me a first-rate view of the whole body of troops." "You can dismiss your fears, then," said Scott, "of an army one hundred thousand strong, for men cannot live without food. If there had been fifty thousand troops, you would not have failed to get a prominent view of their baggage and provisions." The General expressed the opinion to one of his subordinates, that there were not more than fifteen thousand troops where the scout thought he saw a hundred thousand! He was evidently a poor judge of numbers, or his fears got the better of his judgment.

I see that there is some indignation expressed in some of the Northern journals at the foolish conduct of two or three of our military officers respecting the slaves and slave insurrections. This is well enough. But after the most examination of the entire subject, and frequent conversations with prominent military and civil authorities here, I am convinced that the ardent anti-slavery men can well afford to wait—to keep silence on this peculiar subject. *Wait till the war begins in earnest!* Gen. Butler won't be so anxious to keep the slaves in chains when he gets to fighting their masters. Let him *talk* now if he will, but wait and see what he will do in the thick of battle. One of our shrewdest statesmen remarked to me, "Slave insurrrections are not to be incited or encouraged, but I tell you, as sure as there is a God above us, when the war begins to reach the vitals of the South, *slave insurrections cannot be prevented or put down!* When the South becomes panic-struck, as it will by and by—then the slaves will also grow wild, stubborn, and revengeful, and in the shock of the conflict they *will* rise, in larger or smaller numbers, and we shall not care to put them down. Then, when the war ends, the whole Southern people will have become convinced that slavery is a source of terrible weakness and the institution will have received its death-blow."

The finger of God guides this great war movement. There never was so holy a war fought—holy on our side—since the world began; for, really, it is fought by one race to save another from the most brutal degradation. I know full well that those who are fighting the battle, many of them at least, have little idea what they are fighting for, but nevertheless they are fighting to overturn a slaveholding conspiracy at the very life of the nation, and when they shall have trampled that conspiracy under foot, slavery will also be crushed. Anti-slavery men can afford to wait and help on the enthusiasm which rolls over the country like a vast Atlantic wave. Every blow struck now for the stars and stripes is a blow for liberty.

The plans of the rebel leaders are now the subject of much speculation. There is concealment and silence over the border, and it is difficult to know exactly what Davis, Lee, Beauregard and Co. would be at. A gentleman just from Richmond says that Harper's Ferry is to be the base of the rebel operations—that Washington, if attacked at all, will be attacked on the Maryland side. I cannot credit this story. Harper's Ferry is so near to Pennsylvania—it is so easy for the government to throw ten thousand men within ten miles of the Ferry on this side, another ten on the other, and so surround it, that the Virginians will scarcely venture on an aggressive movement.

The rebels *threaten* to attack Pennsylvania, but then threatening is their vocation. They always brag, always threaten, and are undoubtedly good fighters in spite of their braggart ways.

The first collision of arms will, it is thought, occur at Alexandria or Harper's Ferry. The government means eventually to command these places. It will never do to allow a large rebel army to overawe Maryland and menace Pennsylvania from Harper's Ferry, and the battle may commence at this place. It is said that Gen. Scott will surround the rebels and starve them out when the proper moment arrives.

For a few days, and possibly weeks, the country must be patient, and then it will have enough to talk about.

AVON.

PRIZE ESSAYS.—To Thomas H. Talbot, Esq., of Portland, Me., has been awarded the prize of $200 offered by Thaddeus Hyatt for the best legal essay upon the three following questions:

1. In what, if any cases, does the Constitution permit the Senate of the United States to coerce witnesses for information to merely aid legislation?

2. In what, if any cases, does the Constitution permit the Senate of the United States to seize and force witnesses from their States to merely aid legislation?

3. In what, if any cases, does the Constitution permit the Senate of the United States to investigate alleged crime to merely aid legislation?

To Mr. John Heermans, of Bath, Steuben Co., N. Y., has been awarded the prize of $100 for the best popular essay upon the same questions. The Committee making these awards are John Pierpont, S. E. Sewall, Edgar Ketchum, John Jay.

Chronicles of the War.

THE NORTH-SIDE VIEW.

THE most important events of the past week are—1. The triumph of the Union sentiment in Maryland, the reconstruction of the bridges and the resumption of travel on the Philadelphia and Baltimore and the Baltimore and Harrisburgh Railroads, the peaceable transit of United States troops through Baltimore, the occupation of the city by a force under General Butler, and the flight therefrom of a large number of rebels. 2. The uprising of Western Virginia in resistance to the traitors at Richmond, and the meeting at Wheeling of a Union Convention of delegates from twenty-five Counties to devise measures for making that resistance effective. 3. The capture by Capt. Lyon, at the head of 6,000 United States volunteers, of Gen. Frost's rebel brigade of Missouri militia, numbering 800 men, encamped on the western outskirts of St. Louis.

The movements on the part of the government indicate a fixed purpose to crush out the rebellion. The President and his subordinates are very discreet in not disclosing the plan of the campaign, but we infer that they do not intend, if they can avoid it, to advance far into the territory occupied by the rebels during the hot weather. The blockade of the Southern ports will soon be established, and the whole line between the loyal and the rebel States, from the Atlantic to the far West, guarded at every point by forces ready to advance when the right moment arrives. Thus hemmed in on all sides, the rebels will be in a most pitiable plight.

RIOT AT ST. LOUIS.

On the 10th inst., after the capture of Gen. Frost's secession brigade near St. Louis, and when Capt. Lyon was preparing to march into the city with his prisoners, a disturbance occurred among the populace who had thronged to the spot, and who, in emulation of the Baltimore rioters, began to throw rocks and fire stray shots at the government troops. Several companies of the latter returned fire, and over twenty of the throng, including two females, are reported killed. And again, on Saturday evening, the Home Guard of St. Louis, while marching through the streets, was hooted at and reviled by a large crowd of excited citizens, and finally a pistol-shot was fired into the ranks by, it is said, a boy. The troops wheeled and fired upon the crowd, discharging several volleys. Owing to a lack of discipline, they broke up their ranks and fired at random, killing and wounding some of their own men, as well as many citizens.

GOVERNOR ANDREW AND CALEB CUSHING.

The Boston correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* states that Gov. Andrew refused Caleb Cushing's offer of military service in support of the government upon the ground that his very recent intimacy with the rebel leaders rendered it improper to trust him with any command. The propriety and prudence of this act of the Governor must be manifest to all who are familiar with Mr. Cushing's course. *The Evening Post* well says:

"In times like the present no man should be employed in any public service implying confidence whom we feel that we cannot fully trust. No naval officer, for instance, should be sent to enforce the blockade of the Southern ports who has not purged himself of all suspicion of colluding with the Secessionists, and no officer of the army should be allowed to lead even a corporal's guard against the rebels, of whose absolute fidelity we are not well assured.

"We must, therefore, commend Governor Andrew for declining to give any command of the troops raised in Massachusetts to Caleb Cushing. Governor Andrew had shortly before appointed General Butler, the Breckinridge Democratic candidate for the office of Governor of Massachusetts, to the highest milltary office yet given out in the State—a step which has been universally and justly applauded as showing a perfect freedom from party bias. The objection to General Cushing was not that he did not belong to the Republican party, but that, according to the general public belief in Massachusetts, in which Gov. Andrew himself shared, he had involved himself to so great an extent in the plans and designs of the conspirators for the overthrow of our government, as to be an improper candidate for the important duty of leading the faithful soldiers of the Union against its enemies. The reward of conduct like his, whatever else it may be, should not be military promotion."

SEND PAPERS TO THE SOLDIERS.

Mr. Charles L. Brace, the philanthropic Secretary of the Children's Aid Society, in a timely letter to *The Tribune* upon "What is wanted by the Volunteers," urges the importance of furnishing them with good reading matter. He says:

"The soldiers need *intoning* and being kept mentally up to the struggle, as much as any class of men. The practical routine and hard life wear off a vast deal of the enthusiasm, and obscure the grand objects of the war. For my part, I believe one of the best things for our men would be, to scatter 20,000 copies of Wendell Phillips's last speech, or Beecher's sermon, or if those were too radical, of some more conservative but eloquent sermons through the whole army. Let every man read those glowing words. Reading will keep many a good fellow out of drinking, gambling and mischief. Let us ever bear in mind that the American army needs just the same moral influences and mental food which we do ourselves, and that the prosperity of a whole generation will depend on our providing judiciously and energetically for these wants."

PURITAN SOLDIERS.

It is quite impossible for us to notice in detail the movements of the various companies of volunteers who are rushing to the deadly conflict with the Southern slave oligarchy; but we cannot withhold from our readers the following extract of a private letter, which shows what is passing in many a New England town:

"A fine volunteer company of 80 men, with officers and chaplain complete, has just left Weymouth (Norfolk Co., Mass.)—the flower of the town, all with light youthful faces and shining hair, on which the sun glistens as from musket barrels, when they take off their little fatigue caps. 'You have given us the best you have,' said the State authorities, when they reported themselves at the State House in Boston, attended by one hundred Weymouth men in citizen's dress, who *would* keep them company to the last, and are ready to follow at a call. Among all the Northern troops that have poured down upon the Slave Power, as upon old Rome, 'the terror of the Goth,' none are more marked in character. They bear the old Puritan stamp of

"'The soldier of the Lord,
With his Bible and his sword';

and every man of them has heard from his boyhood the echoes of Garrison's and Phillips's cry, 'Down with slavery—no union with slaveholders.' They were escorted to the railroad station at Weymouth Landing by a troop of two hundred mounted men. There they partook of refreshments hastily prepared by that sympathetic neighborhood; the entire people, men, women and children, standing round to hear the few words of blessing and farewell bestowed on them by their respected elders and authorities. Mothers, who never think of Homer and Horace but as old heathens, were waving their adieu, with 'I pity the Southerner that comes in the way of my son!' An indescribable joy, as of free breath on the letting in of fresh air, or the lifting of an insupportable yoke, lightened in every face. 'And suppose they never come back? It is sad to think of, but it is so good for them to go! Who would hold them back? It is my only grief that I cannot go myself.' This is only one of three hundred Massachusetts towns, all crying, 'Through!'"

THE SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.

It is supposed that there are in Virginia some 30,000 rebel soldiers, and more are constantly flocking thither from the South. Harper's Ferry is held by Virginia, but there is a report that Gov. Letcher, at the demand of Gov. Hicks, has ordered the withdrawal of his troops from the Maryland side of the river. If Western Virginia continues loyal to the United States, it will be in the power of Gen. Scott to starve out the rebel forces at this point.

Gen. Pillow has gathered a force in Tennessee for the purpose, it is supposed, of attacking Cairo, but the place is believed to be impregnable.

We could fill columns with well-authenticated incidents of the Reign of Terror that prevails almost everywhere at the South. Thousands are every day flocking to the North to escape the alternative of taking up arms for the rebels, in many instances sacrificing valuable property, and considering themselves fortunate if they can only save their lives.

The change in the position of Maryland has evidently disappointed and disconcerted the rebels, insomuch that they are in doubt what course to pursue; but they are making every preparation in their power for the impending struggle.

Information here leaves no doubt that Davis's privateering propositions are greedily accepted by those able to avail themselves thereof. It is said that 3,000 applications have been made for letters of marque, some of which are from foreign States.

The Confederate Congress has requested Jeff. Davis to appoint a day of fasting and prayer for the success of treason, rebellion and slavery!

A letter received at Boston from Charleston states that Gen. Beauregard has died of wounds received at the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The story *may* be true, though it is probably false.

INDIAN TRAITORS.

New Orleans papers state that "a letter has been received there from the Indian Nation, giving assurances of the kind reception the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Seminoles and Creeks gave the Commissioners appointed to visit them by the Texas State Convention. The tribes are slaveholders, and favor Secession and the Southern Confederacy. The Cherokees have cleared out the abolition emissaries among them. All the tribes were to hold a General Council on the 8th of April." This is what comes of the teachings of the American Board and its Missionaries among the Indians for the last thirty years. So much for the miserable counterfeit Christianity which flouts the golden rule and makes the Church a covert for men-stealers and slave-breeders!

"SABLE CLOUDS."

GEN. BUTLER, who was lately so ready to march the forces under his command to put down an insurrection of slaves, has since given the slaveholders a hint that he *may* be driven to resort to a very different sort of warfare. One of his soldiers having been poisoned by strychnine, administered in food brought into camp by a Maryland peddler, the General, in a brigade order, exclaims:

"Are our few insane enemies among the loyal men of Maryland prepared to wage war upon us in this manner? Do they know the terrible lesson of warfare they are teaching us? Can it be that they realize the fact that *we can put an agent, with a word, into every household, armed with this terrible weapon?* In view of the terrible consequences of this mode of warfare (if adopted by us from their teaching), with every sentiment of devotional prayer may we not exclaim: 'Father, forgive them; they know not what they do.'"

Gen. Butler is learning his lesson fast. *Military* necessity is a smarter master for such as he than *moral* necessity, though not so good a one.

TERRIBLE FRIGHT.—A gentleman lately from the South writes:

"In Virginia many of the people of both parties were fleeing to the mountains—the non-combatant Secessionists from fear of the Abolitionist hordes, and the Union men from fear of the Secessionists."

BLOTTING OUT SLAVERY.—A gentleman who lately left Savannah, on account of the excitement there informs The *Times* "that there is a strong undercurrent of Union feeling in Savannah among all intelligent persons, and such persons do not hesitate to tell the demagogues who are leading this rebellion, and the slaveholders generally, that their course will inevitably blot out slavery in the Southern States."

FROM KENTUCKY.—A correspondent of *The Times*, writing from Louisville, says:

"The very anticipation of a war is moving thousands of our slaves South. Men of property, owning slaves, prefer to leave the border and locate where they deem slave property is more secure. If they succeed in effecting a separation the same end is gained; and besides, they can, without actual, open legislation, reopen the slave trade, and easily smuggle slaves into the South, as they are smuggled into Cuba. We fear here the result will be to depopulate Kentucky for a time. We cannot expect, if we secede, the enforcement of a Fugitive Slave law, and we would send our slaves South. We cannot expect to hold them securely if invaded. This position of neutrality is our only salvation in this crisis. You of the North should respect it."

ESCAPE OF SLAVES.—The Philadelphia correspondent of *The Tribune* writes:

"I repeat my former report of the escape of slaves from the border States. We see more of this thing than you, owing to our promixity. But there is a steady stream of them coming away from Virginia, and as that State has voluntarily abandoned the protection of the Constitution, there are now no volunteer slave-catchers, and fugitives move about here with impunity, most of them going further North. They report things at a loose end in Virginia and Maryland, the excitement so great that the blacks are not half looked after, and that they consequently escape with great facility. If what these fugitives say is correct, there will be thousands moving off within the next two months."

INCENDIARISM.—A letter from a gentleman in the interior of South Carolina says that, while absent at the Charleston fight, the negroes in his town burned four dwellings and eight stores in the town, and four more in the vicinity; eight negroes were hung, and a dozen more would soon be hung.

"THE FLIGHT OF FUGITIVES," says the correspondent of *The Times* at Camp Defiance, Cario, Ill., "continues. At this point (the lowest and darkest end of the region known as 'Egypt') we see none but the *white* ones; the blacks would be sent back. One negro jumped off a boat night before last, but his master was immediately on his track, and found plenty ready to aid him. He offered a policeman a hundred dollars to capture him, and the officer soon had the money. The negro said he was advised to go by a man, who gave him $3 to pay expenses till he got amongst friends. I heard several citizens envying the lucky policeman, who got such a snug fee for doing what all considered a duty."

FEELING AMONG THE NEGROES.—A correspondent of *The Tribune*, on a tour of observation at the South, says:

"In cases where I was known to be a Northerner, the remark was repeatedly made for my benefit, 'We have not the slightest fears of our slaves; they will all fight for us.' But where I was taken for a Southerner, fears *were* repeatedly expressed to me of the slaves in the interior, and of the free negroes in the cities, many of whom are intelligent, wealthy, and able to read and write. In Wilmington, North Carolina, on the day when I passed through, a hundred and sixty free negroes were impressed to work on the fortifications; and the opinion was expressed by several persons in my hearing that this course would everywhere be necessary. Every negro in the South, however stupid and ignorant, knows that this war is something which concerns him. The slaveholders do not look upon insurrections as likely to be general or very formidable, but rather regard them as a possible contingency, and fear that Northerners *may* excite them, and put arms in the hands of their slaves. At least twenty Secessionists said to me: 'We do not expect to establish our Southern Confederacy peacefully; no nation ever yet secured its independence without first cementing it in blood.' But none of them seemed to have learned, either from the nature of the case, or from the history of St. Domingo, with what a terrible significance the same remark may yet apply to the negro race among them, if they persist in their mad course to the bitter end."

MASTERS AFRAID OF THEIR SLAVES.—A correspondent of *The Tribune*, reporting the state of things at "Fort Grays," on the Severn River, seven miles above Annapolis, where General Butler has stationed a force under Major Rathbun, says:

"While sitting in front of Major Rathbun's quarters, a number of well-dressed countrymen came up and entered into conversation with the officers, the visitors introducing the all-absorbing and engrossing topic of the day. One young man said that he owned thirty 'niggers,' and where three months ago he could get $1,500 apiece for them, he could not now get $300. He said if there was going to be any fight, he should make a vanguard of his 'niggers,' and they being killed first, would form a breastwork for him to fight behind. He remarked that the people could not trust their 'niggers'—that if they were left at home, their families would be outraged, and if they were unable to take them along with them, they would shoot them before they left. One of the visitors, a deputy sheriff, said, that in looking about the different plantations, he found in one 'nigger's' closet and chest, six guns and half a dozen revolvers, which he removed, of course. The negro was a powerfully-built fellow, and had to be secured before the arms could be obtained. The officer remarked, that there were many men going about the country stealing and selling arms to the 'niggers' for whatever amount they could obtain. The slaveholding people were freely told by the officers, that if they had any trouble with their 'niggers,' upon application, they should receive all the necessary assistance to quell the insurrection."

These pledges to crush out the poor slaves, who may endeavor to secure their freedom during the war, are mean and disgraceful beyond comparison, and calculated to alienate from the North the sympathies of true friends of freedom everywhere.

FEARS OF INSURRECTION.—The Cincinnati *Gazette*, after an interview with a man just arrived in that city from Montgomery, Ala., says:

"The effects of the Southern frenzy, says our informant, are nowhere more apparent than on farms and plantations—where a number of slaves are owned. Fears of negro insurrection are constantly before the minds of the proprietors of the peculiar institution, and the adoption of 'precautionary measures' has become almost universal. Our informant says that the planters have been seized with a sudden mistrust of their field-hands, and thousands of negroes are now, for the first time in their lives, locked up every night. Wealthy families sleep on volcanoes, to speak rather figuratively. Shakspeare says the thief doth fear each bush an officer, and it seems that in cottondom, where "capital owns its labor," the planter fears each bush a darkey, with a John Brown pike in each hand. Verily, the pleasures of secession are to the valiant heroes of the sunny South both numerous and valuable."

A VIOLENT NEGRO.—Yesterday afternoon a negro woman, slave of Mrs. Gwinn, was arrested. She proclaimed herself a Black Republican, and said she wished there was a barrel of powder under the town to blow it up. She was arrested and lodged in jail. On her person a pistol was found. She will be appropriately punished.—*Memphis Bulletin.*

WIPE IT FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH.—A correspondent of *The World*, writing from Camp Defiance at Cairo, Ill., says:

"The feeling is daily gaining ground here that this war can only end in the utter extermination of African slavery. Men say it is an institution that we have not meddled with. It has not belonged to us, but to certain of the States. We have been content to let it alone. If it is right, well; if not, it is not ours, and we are not responsible for the wrong. True, it has been a disgrace to a nation boasting its unequalled liberty; it has enabled a minority to control the affairs of the nation. It has closed some of the fairest portions of American territory to American citizens. It has taken away the protection to American citizens upon American soil that their flag commands for them in foreign countries. It has rendered the election at the ballot-box a meaningless farce, and now it is being made the instrument to complete the destruction of democratic institutions; and, *in God's name, let us wipe it from the face of the earth.*"

REGIMENT OF FREE COLORED MEN.—The New Orleans *True Delta*, of the 30 ult., has the following item:

"Governor Moore, we have heard, has authorized the organization of a regiment of free colored men. We have always relied upon the free colored men who were born in New Orleans—the descendants of those who fought on the plains of Chalmotte. And we expect that, when the regiment is fully organized, and if the mean, false, dastardly Black Republicans of the North endeavor to make a hostile approach to New Orleans, our free colored regiment will help to teach them, by a bloody lesson too, that they know their true from their false friends. We heard it said that Felix Labatut, Esq., an old, esteemed, and wealthy citizen, would be requested to become Colonel of the regiment."

THE PLANTERS GLOOMY.—A gentleman from Mobile states in *The Evening Post* that "the planters in Alabama were gloomy and despondent on account of the apprehended insecurity of their slave property. They are convinced that their tenure is very frail. One man, the owner of four plantations and fifteen hundred slaves, declared openly in the streets of Mobile, that he expected to lose all his slaves. Slavery, he avowed, was doomed by the firing of the first gun at Fort Sumter."

THE POOR AFRICAN AND THE CONFEDERATE LOAN.—Albert, a slave, the property of General S. G. Hadaway, accosted Mr. Knox, President of the Central Bank and Chairman of the Board of Loan Commissioners, this morning, on the steps of the Central Bank, when the following conversation ensued:

"Good morning, Mr. Knox; I am told you have some Southern Confederacy bonds for sale."

"Yes, Albert, *the loan is not all taken*, although it is being rapidly subscribed for."

"Well, Mr. Knox, I want to take some; I have got three hundred dollars which I have saved out of my earnings in odd times, and I want to put it in these bonds, if you will let me."

"You cannot do so without your master's consent," replied Mr. Knox; "but if he is willing, there will be no difficulty about it."

Albert went out, found his master, obtained his consent, and the books of the loan subscription show three hundred dollars of coupon bonds subscribed for and paid "by Samuel G. Hadaway, trustee for his slave Albert," and with the money of Albert.

Alfred, the slave of Colonel W. Crawford Bibb, being told of Alfred's subscription, drew out one hundred dollars which he had on deposit, and subscribed for coupon bonds to that amount.

We give the facts—Greeley may make the comments.—*N. O. Picayune.*

SUBSCRIBERS TO THE SOUTHERN LOAN.—We find the following in a recent number of The Mobile *Advertiser:*

"DEMOPOLIS, April 26, 1861.

"Two negroes of Marengo have taken nine hundred dollars of the Confederate loan. Peter, the property of Mrs. Ann Tarbert, and a blacksmith at Spring Hill, took four hundred dollars; and the foreman of A. Hatch, Esq., on his plantation at Arcola, took five hundred dollars. *Some of our most wealthy planters have not taken a dollar, and others that are able to take thousands have only subscribed from $50 to $100.* Shame on the patriotism of our wealthy men, that the negroes should be more patriotic than they."

This is a sad state of things, to be sure. When a man who don't own himself will contribute more money to perpetuate his bondage than the man who owns him, things must have become "checkered." But the truth is, secession reverses all the ordinary rules of human conduct, and we shall probably by and by behold the singular spectacle, of the slaves fighting against their masters for trying to set them free. At all events, we shall be very likely to see such announcements in the Southern papers.—*N. Y. Times.*

SLAVERY BETTER THAN FREEDOM.—We find the following illustration of the advantages of slavery in *The Journal of Commerce:*

"While at the Junction (near Baltimore) we witnessed a practical illustration of Freedom *vs.* Slavery. A very dilapidated darkey, whose garments were of all imaginable hues, and a perfect labyrinth of rags, had come into camp to sell a few eggs. While he was there another ebony-hued individual came in, vastly important in his demeanor, attired in clean checked shirt, blue jacket and jean pants, with cowhide shoes and felt hat, and in every respect a perfect Turveydrop in deportment.

"'Stan' back, you free nigger," said the last comer, "de gemman don't want nuffin out of dat baskit; why don't you poor free niggers work and do suffin—(aside)—lazy debbils, ain't wuff dar salt."

Soldier—"Are you a slave?"

Darkey (with broad grin)—"Yaas, boss, ain't nuffin else! Nebber seed a free nig with sich closes as dem on, yah, yah!"—and he jerked back the lappel of his blue jacket *a la* Unsworth.

"I b'longs to Missus ober on de ridge dar. Makes plenty money now 'mong de soger mans."

Soldier—"But you have to give the money to your mistress, don't you?"

Darkey—"Um-m! me!—Missus nuffin to do wid dat money, boss! I aint gwine to keep hens an have um lay eggs for Missus. Missus don't want 'em. Yah-h! you ony jokin wid nigger now."

Free nigger (with a dolorous whine)—"Spose ole Gub'ner gone dead, an' left me free nigger; dat my fault, eh——?"

Slave (with dignity)—"Don't talk back, man; go way; g'long and sell dem things ob your'n—I knows your hungry."

Free nigger departs with an air of inferiority, and the slave puffs his segar and shakes his head with a solemn countenance, as if he really pitied the poor free darkey in ragged attire.

The slave who thus affected to despise liberty and love slavery was, likely enough, watching for a chance to run away. The pro-slavery Northerner was gulled.

THE HONOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE following correspondence, which has been kindly placed at our disposal, shows that the offer of General Butler to suppress an insurrection of slaves in Maryland, by the power of Massachusetts bayonets, is regarded by Gov. Andrew as "a military blunder, which must not be repeated." "Blunder" would seem to be a very soft name for such an offence, but the Governor probably meant to be understood that the blunder was of the sort that is "worse than a crime."

LETTER TO GOVERNOR ANDREW.

NEW YORK, 29th April, 1861.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOV. ANDREW: As a native citizen of Massachusetts I rejoice that such a man as you are is at the head of its government, and I feel sure you will not sanction any measure inimical to the great cause of freedom.

It is published, far and wide, that Gen. Butler, of the Massachusetts troops, has undertaken to subdue a negro insurrection in Maryland. Is it possible? Shall the troops of old Massachusetts, after being assailed and some of them shot down while marching through Maryland to defend the Capital of the nation, stop to aid the slaveholders to reduce to slavery men who are asserting their God-given rights?

May I entreat your Excellency to investigate this matter, and have the facts published for the information of the people of Massachusetts, at home and abroad, and for the information of the friends of liberty everywhere.

Hoping that you will long preside over the State of my birth, and contribute your powerful aid in behalf of the oppressed, I remain, dear sir,

Very respectfully, your ob't serv't.,

LEWIS TAPPAN.

THE GOVERNOR'S REPLY.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
COUNCIL CHAMBER, Boston, April 30, '61.

MR. LEWIS TAPPAN, New York—*Sir:* I am directed by his Excellency to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th inst., and to say in reply that he fully appreciates your lively and jealous interest in behalf of the oppressed.

No one more than himself can regret the declaration imputed to Gen. Butler of which you speak; of the truth of which, however, he has no other knowledge than is contained in the general telegraphic intelligence. Upon learning, in this way, of such declaration, his Excellency at once wrote to Gen. Butler, saying to him that if he was *truly* reported, he had made a great military blunder which must not be repeated. His Excellency is inclined charitably to believe that Gen. Butler really, if at all, made such declaration, to influence Gov. Hicks and to give him to understand that he meant to control the healthy action of Maryland, and not to allow it to be given up to anarchy and mob law.

Very respectfully, CHARLES INGERSOLL,
For the Governor.

THE CONTEST.

THREE forces are in the field. These contending powers are, the Southern Confederacy, fighting for SLAVERY and the overthrow of the Federal government; the United States, fighting for the GOVERNMENT, for the CONSTITUTION, *however construed*, and for the UNION, *with or without slavery*, as a matter of compromise. Between these belligerents is THE ALMIGHTY, *the Lord God of Sabaoth*, fighting for the slaves and the CONSTITUTION OF ETERNAL RIGHT. It is quite natural, then, to conjecture *how*, if not when, this contest will terminate.

We may hope, pray and trust in God, to crush and grind to powder the whole system of American despotism, between the upper and nether millstone of these two contending and bloody powers.

"By terrible things in righteousness wilt thou answer us, O God of our salvation." T.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

*The American An

THE STANDARD.

THE RIGHTS O' MAN.

(A Southern Version of them, in black and white.)

Is the rights o' man I du believe, with Washington and
Jefferson;
But from them ondying patriots a pint or two I deffers on;
In their noble declaration they oughter set out fuller,
That black and white stands opper*site*, in rights as well as
color.

They'd no pesky Abolitionists a hatchin' revoloottions,
To upset our Southern chivalry's domestic institootions:
If they'd a' know'd such varmint as in Greeley's *Tribune*
figgers,
They'd a' had two declarations—one for whites, and one for
niggers.

To supply this 'ere omission is what I du propose tu,
And this 'ere's the sum and substance, pretty much, o'
what I goes tu;
White rights is all whites likes to take; and as for blacks—
(I'm sick o' them)—
Waal, I guess their rights is jest what's left when the whites
has had their pick o' them.

Or, stoopin' to perticlars (though it's what I kinder scorn
tu),
I conclude that chains and cowhides both whites and blacks
was born tu,
With this slight difference, that whites was for their active
use meant,
Blacks, for suff'rin' on 'em passive, for white profit or
amusement.

The corner-stone of all white rights—and there ain't no-
wheres a bigger—
Is the innate right of every white to whop his private nigger;
And all I doubts is whether the right is bounded to his
private one,
And don't reach to niggers gin'rally, whene'er you can let
drive at one.

In course I hold there's dooties that correspond to rights,
sir,
(The first belongs to niggers, and the second all to whites,
sir!)
So, if the white exerts his right to cowhide, and don't spare
it,
The correlative black dooty is fur to grin and bear it.

The white man's right to freedom 's wide as universal
natur;
But beyond the Mason-Dixon line the blacks ain't worth a
tatur;
In fact, I rayther calkilate, that this side of it, either,
If nat'ral justice had its way, 't aint wuth a tatur neither.

The white he has a heaven-born right to make the black
his chattel,
And chattels can't be citizens (see Puffendorf and Vattel):
But in our magnanimity the exclusion we relaxes,
And gives blacks the rights o' citizens, as fur as payin'
taxes.

This makes the critters sarcy, till from inch to ell extendin,
On the priv'lege of tax-*paying* they would hook that of
tax-*spendin'*;
And the next thing 'll be asking place on the electoral rolls,
sir,
Till at last I shouldn't wonder if they set up claims to souls,
sir.

By way o' mild corrective to such doctrines underminin',
This declaration I submit for gin'ral nigger signin';
With gradooated punishments for those who fail or falter—
To begin with tar and feathers, and to wind up with a
halter:

"I, Blank—a nigger born and bred—hereby make declara-
tion,
I haven't no rights to nothin'—name, church, home, vote,
nor nation;
But for the blessins of my slavish state I'm grateful to my
master,
Who feeds and clothes and flogs me fust, and then pays for
the plaster.

"Should I be so unlucky as fur to sink to freedom,
And be druv to cast my chains aside, however much I need
'em,
I declare I won't stay in this State, to cut that frightful
figger,
That it stands to reason must be cut, by a mis'rable free
nigger.

"For New England or the Canadas I straightway will
absquatulate,
That on *one* free nigger more them States themselves they
may congratulate;
So to pay for their free-negroism the abolition yarmint,
Who backed up old Osawatomie, and said there warn't no
harm in't.

"If cotched at liberty, myself ill-used I du consider,
If I ain't took up and sold right out unto the highest bidder:
And cheerfully I will go back to chains, cowhide and collar,
So help me Gin'ral Washington, and 'The Almighty
Dollar!'"

—*Punch.*

Our European Correspondence.

LETTERS FROM PARIS....No. XXVII.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PARIS, March 27, 1861.

LET me give you a clear and distinct account of what has taken place here in regard to the French policy in Italy. No longer than ten days ago, everybody here was convinced that the French troops would soon be withdrawn from Rome. In the Senate, the speech of Prince Napoleon had a very powerful effect, and was regarded as the expression of the Emperor's opinion. The Catholics asked the Ministers in the Senate if our troops should stay longer in Rome. The Ministers refused to answer. In the *Corps Legislatif*, the Catholics made the most violent speeches against the policy of the Emperor, but everybody knew that the majority would submit to everything the Emperor should ask.

The last day of the discussion of the Address a reaction took place. Till then, the Ministers had refused to tell what the government would do. M. Keller, one of the Catholics, went so far as to say that the Emperor was influenced by the fear of Orsini; and, in the most insolent manner, said: "You refuse to answer my questions, but I can answer them for you. Revolution bids you 'March! march!' and you must go. I do not know, but I venture to affirm that you will make a few more impossible propositions to the Pope. I do not know, but I venture to affirm that you will recall your troops from Rome, and deliver the Pope to the tender mercies of Cavour and Victor Emanuel." Well! Biltault at last answered, and said that France had two interests in Italy. One consisted in destroying the Austrian influence in the peninsula, the other in *maintaining the temporal power of the Pope.* One of these interests was satisfied, the other in danger, but would not be neglected by France. "Some tell us," he said, "Sacrifice the Pope to Italy; others, Sacrifice Italy to the Pope. We shall do neither the one nor the other. We shall stay in Rome as long as a misunderstanding exists between Italy and the Pope. The two interests have been respected in the treaty of Villafranca; that was the *good* solution. Afterwards, the Romagnas were taken and claimed by Piedmont; that was a *moins bonne* solution. Thirdly, Victor Emanuel offered to be the vicar of the Pope in his provinces; *cela, messieurs, était une mauvaise solution.*"

"We shall not abandon Rome," said he; "the movement in Italy is a revolutionary movement. We cannot abdicate before the revolution; we cannot wash our hands of it; we must keep our powerful hands to the last on the settlement of the Italian affairs, and maintain the principle of the temporal power. We may compromise about the limits of the territory, but not about the principle of an independent territory."

The impression made by Biltault's speech was immense; it was such that the Catholics withdrew their amendment, and declared themselves satisfied. I, for one, almost sickened as I read Biltault's speech, for I felt that now an occasion of destroying the temporal power was lost, and lost without good reason. All the official people, with the official press, which had all declared against the Pope, changed their talk at once. Jules Favre's amendment for withdrawing the troops had only five voices. What could be expected of such a parliament, named as it has been named?

It is an odd thing, but there seems to be but one passion alive in this country—the Catholic passion. The very people who would give up all the liberties of the country, who have been for ten years the most servile, make now an uproar such as you never saw. It is intolerable for a well-balanced mind to see such fanaticism for such a worthless cause. I have quite lost patience. I can hardly speak with toleration of such folly. I hate and despise the Emperor, but I had rather see the Pope overthrown than he, because the Pope has an older and, in my opinion, stronger power; but among the liberals there are but very few who think as I do. Depend upon it, Italy's future is very dark; the Catholics are too strong for Bonaparte; he is more afraid of the bishops than of Orsini. He will maintain the Pope in Rome; and, without Rome, I fear Piedmont will not be able to unite Italy and to keep Naples. The best chance for Italy would be a new war; then France will be forced to support her. If Napoleon determines on regaining the favor of the Catholics, who have put him on the throne, Piedmont must submit to his dictations; and what can the Italians do between him and Austria? It will always be a great misfortune for Italy to have been liberated by an unprincipled man, who cannot resist the Catholic party at home, because he is tied to it by his origin. The liberals are not his friends, but he must have friends: he knows very well that some liberals will support him in this Italian affair, but he will lose them afterwards. He feels it more his interest to be reconciled with the Catholics, and Italy will have to bear the consequences of it. He has already forbidden Plonplon to go to Italy, as he intended to. Cavour has already said, in the Parliament at Turin, that the Italians must not think of going to Rome against the wish of France, even if they could do it. Rome will still be and remain the *red woman*, till France is a Protestant country, or till Italy becomes one.

BY ANOTHER HAND: "I fear your correspondent has written in too great haste to have made it sufficiently clear that, notwithstanding all this Catholic uprising, the *mass of the country*, headed by Thouvenel, was ready and willing to *let the Pope slide.* So were the Bonapartists. But the Catholics have triumphed over them. You will have seen their shouts in *Galignani's Messenger.* Never was a better opportunity lost. But I am not surprised. I have always known the strength of the *scarlet woman.* It was a great misfortune and mistake that Italy ever joined hands with a villain."

No. XXVIII.

PARIS, April 19, 1861.

The great event of the day is the letter just published by the Duke d'Aumale, and addressed to Prince Napoleon Bonaparte, the cousin of the Emperor. In the debates of the Senate, the Prince uttered the strongest reproaches against the family of the Bourbons and of the Orleans. Since the revolution of 1848, and the *coup d'état*, the exiled Princes of Orleans have, as everybody knows, led the most exemplary and most quiet life in England, without conspiring, without entering on any action against the French government. They had seen their property confiscated in France by the very man who twice owed his life to their father, without any bitter complaint. Their noble behavior in exile, the death of the Duchess of Orleans, of the young and lovely Duchess of Nemours, had secured for them general compassion and sympathy. They had taken no active part in European politics, and had only sent the young Duke de Chartres to Italy, to fight the battles of Italian freedom, in order to show at the same time their sympathy with France and with the cause of liberty.

Under such circumstances, the violent attack of Prince Napoleon was equally unjust and absurd; but he has been well punished for it by the reply of the Duke d'Aumale. That the letter could appear in France is almost incredible. You must know that when a book appears, a copy of it must be deposited with an official, who reads it, and when there is anything with which he finds fault, the book is seized at once, and every copy destroyed. A few hours only separate the moment of the deposit and the moment of the seizure by the police; during these few hours almost all the copies of the Duke d'Aumale's letter were sold. How people came to know of it so quickly, is to be explained by the eager interest everybody took in it. I happened to be on the *boulevard* at the time. The whole place was covered with people reading the yellow pamphlet, and in the booksellers' shops there was a rush for it. The day after the seizure copies were sold for a hundred francs; people are busy taking copies of it, and before long everybody will have read it. I can only give you a few extracts.

"You speak now," says the Duke d'Aumale to the Prince Napoleon, "in magnificent terms of the *coup d'état* of the 2d of December. Nobody has seen you, however, on that day, among the few faithful followers who went to the *Elysée* in order to unite themselves to the destinies of the new dictator. Neither were you among the representatives of the nation who protested at the *Mairie* of the 10th Arrondissement against the overthrow of the laws of their country. Where were you? If among the brave men who were discussing in that fatal hour whether it were not their duty to fight behind the barricades, nobody knows it but the few who saw you suddenly appear among them, and then disappear as suddenly when, fortune having pronounced against them, the police came to seize them in the name of the conqueror. Boast not of your tardy zeal and your retrospective enthusiasm, nor try to establish, between that lucky conspiracy and the enterprise of Garibaldi, a comparison which would not suit the taste of the patriot of Caprera."

"One thing astonishes me: it is, that the Duke of Orleans, my grandfather, should not have found favor with you, who have, like him, been sitting on the extreme side in the Republican Assembly. There stops, it is true, the analogy of your destinies. Launched on a fatal declivity, he was not able to resist. But he atoned for his fault; he went out of the Convention to ascend the scaffold, but you have only left the *Montagne* to enter the sumptuous mansion where the Duke of Orleans was born."

"When you speak of the revolution of February, I can understand your ill will. If that revolution had broken out a few months later, it would have found your father (King Jerome) in the House of Peers, with a handsome endowment to descend on your head. You have, perhaps, forgotten the entreaties made by King Jerome and yourself, their good success in 1849, the permission granted to you to come back to France when you were an exile, and the reception given you at St. Cloud? But, among the *huissiers* that fill the ante-chamber of the Emperor, you would see again the one who introduced you in Louis Philippe's Cabinet, when you came to thank him for his kindness and to ask new favors."

In his speech in the Senate, Prince Napoleon had said, "If legitimists or republicans, coming from England (the Orleanists are not mentioned, but it was a merely accidental omission), should land with a thousand or fifteen hundred men on our shores, we should shoot them, *nous les fusillerions bel et bien.*" "Well," remarks the Duke d'Aumale, "under the late government there was an incursion to Strasbourg and a descent on Boulogne, and nobody was shot. A great mistake, you may call it! Well, these same D'Orleans are incorrigible; and if the same thing should happen again, I really believe they would be quite as generous. As for the Bonapartes, when it comes to shooting, their word is good; and among all the promises which you and yours have made or will make, this is the only one which I feel sure you would keep."

The Duke d'Aumale then proceeds to compare the conduct of the Bonaparte family with his own, and, indeed, he is very generous in his comparisons. He has the good taste or the generosity not to mention the female members of the Bonaparte family; and as it is known that all the women in the Orleans family have been remarkable for their high morality and their virtues, it would have been easy to place them in contrast with Josephine, Pauline, Caroline, etc. As for the men, who is ignorant of their actions? A set of low scoundrels, placed by the genius of their brother on the highest thrones in Europe, unworthy of their high fortunes, traitors to the man who had made them what they were, willing to treat with his enemies. Did not Joseph, in Spain, negotiate with Wellington? Was not the Emperor obliged to take the crown of Holland from Louis, and the command of a *corps d'armée* from Jerome, the father of the present Prince Napoleon? And does not everybody know the fearful story of Murat? Did not Josephine (whom the popular credulity has invested with the name of the *faithful* Josephine) entreat her son Eugene, when viceroy in Italy, to join the coalition against Bonaparte? Was not Lucien in England at the very time when the war was raging between France and England? and did not that austere republican, who had so unscrupulously robbed the treasury in France, turn in England into a fanatical admirer of aristocratic institutions? Did not Josephine receive at the Melmeison, in 1814, the Emperor Alexander of Russia, who was conducting his conquering armies into the capital of France? Did not the Queen Hortense, the mother of the present Emperor, implore a pension in 1814 from the generosity of Louis XVIII.?

Comparing the government of Louis Philippe to the present government, he says: "The late government did not talk so much of the principles of '89, but it put them more in practice. It did not make a show of them, so as to make them a cause of uneasiness to the world; but in their application it found order, liberty and prosperity. It did not deny to the representatives of the country the discussion in detail of the budget, and the direct action of a parliament on responsible ministers, if nobody would have insulted it by considering as a progress the decree of the 24th of November. It is, perhaps, because of the old French blood which runs in my veins, that while you, Prince, pity the *attendibili* of Naples, I cannot, without the deepest suffering, reflect that, at the moment I write, Frenchmen may be taken away from their families and their friends, without trial, to die in distant captivity. What do I say—without trial? I ought to say, in secret, without even the mention of their names in the *Moniteur.*"

The whole letter is in a brilliant, clear, and eloquent style. The sensation it produces is incredible. It is the first time a free voice has been heard since the 2nd of December. We have only heard a few whispers; speech and the press are fettered. But here comes a man, who has always shown courage and magnanimity, against whom there is not one word to say, truly liberal, truly French, and he speaks the word of truth, and that word has created more emotion in the French nation than the victories of Sebastopol and Solferino. Whatever may have been the mistake of Louis Philippe, his children are innocent of it, and the country likes them; they have been educated in our colleges, they have fought with our soldiers, they are in a position where they must be liberal, if faithful to their traditions and willing to keep a hold on French sympathies. There is not an honest republican who should not be willing to accept their government. They have on their side whoever is enlightened in the country; but on the other, is despotism, brute force, strengthened by the deepest hypocrisy, Cæsarism supported by the low passions of those who are always willing to sacrifice liberty to their morbid taste for equality at the expense of rights, and their hatred of wealth, intellectual power, and social distinction. Then our Cæsar can turn Europe upside down, and begin a ten years' war, when he feels himself uncomfortable at home; can console the French pride with annexation on the Rhine, with iron steam frigates, frightening England into all sorts of *warriors* and *Black Princes.* Liberty, I hope, will win the day over Cæsarism, but at what cost of blood and treasure!

A SAILOR'S WIFE'S SONG.

O SONNY is my husband's ship, the ship that well I love,
And welcome are its coming sails, all welcome sights above;
There's not a tarry rope, not a spar that there I see,
Not a deck-plank that he treads on, but it's O how dear to
me.

O bright, bright was the May-time through which he sailed
away,
But to me more wan and dreary than November was the
day;
O wintry winds beat keen with sleet, O cold seas rage and
foam,
But calm will be, and bright to me, the day that brings
him home.

O Katie, playing on the floor—O Jockie, at my knee,
When father sits beside the fire, how happy we shall be!
O babe unborn, that when he comes shall bless my happy
breast—
God send my baby safe to me, to kiss him with the rest.

And many a pretty thing he'll bring for little Kate and
Jock—
Carved wooden man and funny beast, and shell and spark-
ling rock;
A monkey, perhaps, so clever, with Kate and Jock to play,
And a rainbow-colored parrot, that will chatter all the day.

O never be a sailor, Jock, to make the angry foam
The terror of a loving wife and babes you've left at home;
And marry not a sailor, Kate, to be his weary wife,
Unless you get one dear as he who's dear to me as life.

Move swiftly on, O lonesome hours; tick quicker on, O
clock,
And bring the hour when at my breast my baby I shall
rock—
When in my arms my blessèd babe shall laugh, and leap,
and crow,
And I shall teach its little eyes its father's face to know.

O Thou who guid'st the stormy winds—O Thou who rul'st
the sea—
O God, look down in mercy upon my babes and me:
Through storms and perils of the deep, O hold him in Thy
hand,
That we may bless Thy blessèd name when safe he treads
the strand.

O wives who're blessed with plenty, how little do you know
The blessings that on such as I your riches would bestow.
O John, come back with half enough to keep you safe
ashore,
And day and night I'll work, that you may go to see no
more.

—*Chambers's Journal.* W. C. BENNETT.

THE RELATION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE TO THE WAR.

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

THERE seems to be some diversity of feeling and sentiment among Abolitionists, in regard to the bearing of the present civil war in our land upon the anti-slavery cause. This arises from no wish or purpose, in any direction, to retreat a hair's breadth from the line of duty originally marked out by them, and adhered to, through countless temptations and trials, with unsurpassed fidelity; but solely, we think, from a difference in the stand-point of judgment and observation occupied by the parties. By some, this tremendous conflict of hostile forces is regarded as without any cheering significance, or sign of promise, to those who have so long struggled for the utter abolition of slavery; by others, it is deemed to have a mighty bearing toward hastening the day of universal emancipation, if not intentionally on the part of the government (and they attribute no such design to it primarily), at least by the necessities of the case—being essentially the South against the North—and is therefore to be viewed hopefully. It would be absurd to deny, that the war presents some very paradoxical and complex features, so as to render it extremely difficult to speak of it without being misunderstood, either on one side or on the other. Nevertheless, we shall venture to express our opinions of it in a spirit of just discrimination, as far as in our power; leaving those who cannot adopt them, entire liberty to criticize or refute them in our columns.

In the first place, let us correct a widely prevalent but mistaken opinion as to the pacific principles of the Abolitionists. They are generally supposed or represented to be a body of non-resistants, who cannot consistently, therefore, do otherwise than condemn or deplore the present clashing of arms in deadly strife. So far from this being the fact, the number of avowed non-resistants in their ranks is, and always has been, extremely small. It is true, they pledged themselves at the outset not to encourage, *in their organized capacity, as an association*, any insurrectionary movement among the slaves, or any measures of violence on their part, in seeking the overthrow of slavery. This pledge they have sacredly kept; their weapons have been purely moral and religious; they have made their appeals to the consciences and hearts of the people, hoping thereby, under God, to effect such a regeneration of public sentiment as would lead to a bloodless deliverance of the enslaved millions at the South. But, as individuals, acting on their own responsibility, while largely imbued with the spirit of peace, they have never adopted the doctrine of non-resistance, with a few exceptional cases.

The whole land is tumultuous like a storm-swept ocean. From one end of it to the other, the earth is trembling under the tread of armed hosts, gathering not to repel an invading foe, but to measure their strength upon the field of civil strife against other. The idolized Union is broken asunder; virtually, every slave State is against it, every free State for its preservation. The government at Washington finds no support except at the North; a treasonable Southern Confederacy defies its power, and contemns its authority, for the vilest and most treasonable purposes; and the prospect is, such a collision as shall redden the soil with blood, and send wailing and lamentation into every household.

To what is this awful state of things owing? Men, in their folly and madness, have answered, "To the Abolitionists! Had they not meddled with slavery, and exasperated the South by their vituperative assaults, all would have gone on peaceably and prosperously to the end!" The accusation is absurd and libellous. A system of oppression which legalizes concubinage and adultery on a gigantic scale—which robs its victims of all natural rights, and disposes of them as cattle and merchandise—which forbids education, fosters tyranny, ensures demoralization, and breeds the most desolating judgments—can claim no rightful exemption from the severest criticism and the sternest condemnation. Every good man is bound to protest against it, and to labor for its extinction. There ought to be no toleration of it on any terms. No more comprehensive iniquity can be committed than to let it alone. The Abolitionists have only pleaded for justice and mercy to a race cruelly meted out and trodden under foot; they have done so disinterestedly, as a matter of conscience, with feelings of humanity, in obedience to God; they have suffered as martyrs, "not resisting unto blood," but taking patiently insults and outrages innumerable; they have asked for nothing unreasonable, injurious or partial, but only to give to the husband his wife, to parents their children, to the laborer his hire, to all their dues. To hold them responsible for the atrocious deeds of Jefferson Davis and his godless band of conspirators is moral idiocy, consummate ignorance, or downright knavery.

These reckless accusers should go further back. Had there been no slavery and no slaveholders, there would have been no Abolitionists; no anti-slavery agitation; no sectional divisions; no "covenant with death," no "agreement with hell," in trying to make a Union for the whole country; no haughty and lawless slave oligarchy; no Fugitive Slave law; no conflict of interests; no Northern doughfaceism; no hatred of free institutions; no outbreak of Southern treason; no civil war! Then would our power, our glory, and our prosperity, as a nation, have extended from sea to sea—every man sitting under his own vine and fig tree, with none to molest or make afraid. The one great cause of all our national troubles and divisions is SLAVERY: the removal of it, therefore, is essential to our national existence. What can be plainer than this? How harmoniously all the free States gravitate around the same unerring centre of liberty! "Like kindred drops, they mingle into one." What jealousy does Massachusetts entertain of Ohio? or Wisconsin of Maine? or New Hampshire of Iowa? or Michigan of Vermont? or Rhode Island of Pennsylvania? They have one common interest—that of free labor; one basis of action—that of equality; one aim—the good of all. There is no antagonism of freedom with freedom; free institutions do not clash with free institutions; but how can there be any concord between liberty and slavery, any more than between Christ and Belial? It is not those, therefore, who would abolish, but those who would perpetuate the "sum of all villanies," who are responsible for the appalling condition into which the nation is now thrown. God grant that this may be seen and acknowledged by all parties at the North before it is too late!

Well, at last the day of visitation has come. Why should the righteous be disquieted? "The house of Israel and the house of Judah have dealt very treacherously against me, saith the Lord. They have belied the Lord, and said, It is not he; neither shall evil come upon us; *neither shall we see sword nor famine.* . . . They lay wait, as he that setteth snares; they set a trap, *they catch men.* They are waxen fat, they shine: yea, they overpass the deeds of the wicked. They judge not the cause of the fatherless, yet they prosper; and the right of the needy do they not judge. Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord: shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this? . . . Were they ashamed when they had committed abomination? Nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush: therefore, they shall fall among them that fall: at the time that I visit them, they shall be cast down, saith the Lord." And so the whole land is to be scourged with fire and blood for its unparalleled and long-continued oppression; for the justice of God cannot be turned aside. "Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword." Is this to be deplored? Is divine retribution to be accounted as evil? Does it prove that God is vindictive and unmerciful? Or does it militate against the soundness of the principles of peace? Then the moral law should be without a penalty; then sowing and reaping should be eternally divorced from each other; then, for the just, there should be no hope, and for the oppressor no recompense; then should the right go down, and the wrong be triumphant. Rather, let the will of God be done, in judgment as in mercy; nay, his judgments are always merciful. "When thy judgments are abroad in the earth, then shall the nations learn righteousness."

For thirty years, the Abolitionists have been faithfully warning the nation that, unless the enslaved were set free, a just God would visit it with tribulation and woe proportional to its great iniquity. Now that their predictions have come to pass, are they to indulge in morbid exclamations against the natural operation of the law of immutable justice, and to see in it no evidence of the growth of conscience, the power of truth, or the approach of the long-wished-for jubilee? Surely, this would be to arraign Infinite Wisdom, to be blind to the progress of events. Surely, emancipation is nearer than when we believed, and the present struggle cannot fail to hasten it mightily, in a providential sense.

It is alleged that the Administration is endeavoring to uphold the Union, the Constitution, and the laws, even as from the formation of the government; but this is a verbal and technical view of the case. Facts are more potential than words, and events greater than parchment arrangements. The truth is, the old Union is *non est inventus*, and its restoration, with its pro-slavery compromises, well-nigh impossible. The conflict is really between the civilization of freedom and the barbarism of slavery—between the principles of democracy and the doctrines of absolutism—between the free North and the man-imbruting South; therefore, to this extent, hopeful for the cause of impartial liberty. So that we cannot indorse the assertion, that this is "the darkest hour for the slave in the history of American servitude." No, it is the brightest! Hear Whittier:

"A sound of tumult troubles all the air,
Like the low thunders of a sultry sky,
Far-rolling ere the downright lightnings glare:
The hills blaze red with warnings; foes draw nigh,
Treading the dark with challenge and reply.
Behold the burden of the prophet's vision—
The gathering hosts—the Valley of Decision,
Dusk with the wings of eagles wheeling o'er.
Day of the Lord, of darkness, and not light!
It breaks in thunder and the whirlwind's roar!
Even so, Father! Let thy will be done—
Turn and o'erturn, end what thou hast begun
In judgment or in mercy; as for me,
If but the least and frailest, let me be
Evermore numbered with the truly free,
Who find thy service perfect liberty!
I fain would thank Thee that my mortal life
Has reached the hour (albeit through care and pain)
When Good and Evil, as for final strife,
Close dim and vast on Armageddon's plain;
And Michael and his angels once again
Drive howling back the spirits of the night.
O! for the faith to read the signs aright,
And, from the angle of thy perfect sight,
See Truth's white banner floating on before;
And the good cause, despite of venal friends,
And base expedients, move to noble ends:
See Peace with Freedom make to Time amends,
And, through its clouds of dust, the threshing floor,
Flailed by thy thunder, heaped with chaffless grain!

—*Liberator.*

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS ON EMANCIPATION UNDER THE WAR POWER.

[The following extracts from the memorable speech of John Quincy Adams, delivered in the United States House of Representatives, April 14 and 15, 1842, on War with Great Britain and Mexico, will be seen to have great significance at the present time:]

WHAT I say is involuntary, because the subject has been brought into the House from another quarter as the gentleman himself admits. I would leave that institution to the exclusive consideration and management of the States more peculiarly interested in it, just as long as they can keep within their own bounds. So far, I admit that Congress has no power to meddle with it. As long as they do not step out of their own bounds, and do not put the question to the people of the United States, whose peace, welfare and happiness are all at stake, so long I will agree to leave them to themselves. But when a member from a free State brings forward certain resolutions, for which, instead of reasoning to disprove his positions, you vote a censure upon him, and that without hearing, it is quite another affair. At the time this was done, I said that, as far as I could understand the resolutions proposed by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Giddings), there were some of them for which I was ready to vote, and some which I must vote against; and I will now tell this House, my constituents, and the world of mankind, that the resolution against which I would have voted was that in which he declares that what are called the slave States have the exclusive right of consultation on the subject of slavery. For that resolution I never would vote, because I believe that it is not just, and does not contain constitutional doctrine. I believe that, so long as the slave States are able to sustain their institutions without going abroad or calling upon other parts of the Union to aid them or act on the subject, so long I will consent never to interfere. I have said this, and I repeat it; but if they come to the free States, and say to them, you must help us to keep down our slaves, you must aid us in an insurrection and a civil war, then I say that, with that call, comes a full and plenary power to this House and to the Senate over the whole subject. It is a war power. I say it is a war power, and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and must carry it on according to the laws of war; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and martial law takes the place of them. This power in Congress has, perhaps, never been called into exercise under the present Constitution of the United States. But when the laws of war are in force, what, I ask, is one of those laws? It is this: that when a country is invaded, and two hostile armies are set in martial array, *the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory.* Nor is this a mere theoretic statement. The history of South America shows that the doctrine has been carried into practical execution within the last thirty years. Slavery was abolished in Columbia, first, by the Spanish General Morillo, and, secondly, by the American General Bolivar. It was abolished by virtue of a military command given at the head of the army, and its abolition continues to be law to this day. It was abolished by the laws of war, and not by municipal enactments; the power was exercised by military commanders, under instructions, of course, from their respective governments. And here I recur again to the example of Gen. Jackson. What are you now about in Congress? You are about passing a grant to refund to Gen. Jackson the amount of a certain fine imposed upon him by a Judge under the laws of the State of Louisiana. You are going to refund him the money, with interest; and this you are going to do because the imposition of the fine was unjust. And why was it unjust? Because Gen. Jackson was acting under the laws of war, and because the moment you place a military commander in a district which is the theatre of war, the laws of war apply to that district. * *

I might furnish a thousand proofs to show that the pretensions of gentlemen to the sanctity of their muncipal institutions under a state of actual invasion and of actual war, whether servile, civil, or foreign, is wholly unfounded, and that the laws of war do, in all such cases, take the precedence. I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all muncipal institutions, *and slavery among the rest;* and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, *not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves.* I have given here more in detail a principle which I have asserted on this floor before now, and of which I have no more doubt, than that you, sir, occupy that chair. I give it in its development, in order that any gentleman, from any part of the Union, may, if he thinks proper, deny the truth of the position, and may maintain his denial; not by indignation, not by passion and fury, but by sound and sober reasoning from the laws of nations and the laws of war. And if my position can be answered and refuted, I shall receive the refutation with pleasure; I shall be glad to listen to reason, aside, as I say, from indignation and passion. And if, by the force of reasoning, my understanding can be convinced, I here pledge myself to recant what I have asserted.

Let my position be answered; let me be told, let my constituents be told, the people of my State be told—a State whose soil tolerates not the foot of a slave—that they are bound by the Constitution to a long and toilsome march under burning summer suns and a deadly Southern clime for the suppression of a servile war; that they are bound to leave their bodies to rot upon the sands of Carolina, to leave their wives and their children orphans; that those who cannot march are bound to pour out their treasures while their sons or brothers are pouring out their blood to suppress a servile, combined with a civil or a foreign war, and yet that there exists no power beyond the limits of the slave State where such war is raging to emancipate the slaves. I say, let this be proved. I am open to conviction, but till that conviction comes, I put it forth not as a dictate of feeling, but as a settled maxim of the laws of nations, that, in such a case, the military supersedes the civil power; and on this account I should have been obliged to vote, as I have said, against one of the resolutions of my excellent friend from Ohio, (Mr. Giddings), or should, at least, have required that it be amended in conformity with the Constitution of the United States.

AMERICAN MINISTERS AT EUROPEAN COURTS.

From The London Daily News.

THE new ambassadorial appointments made by Mr. Lincoln, and confirmed by the Senate, are a striking improvement upon those which have taken place for a long course of years, in the main particulars of the case. For many years the ambassadors of the Republic have not represented anything but the faction which was predominant at the hour, or some compromise of the hour. When the Southern leaders took up a position of triumph, a quarter of a century ago, they sent Mr. Stevenson to our Court—a Southern man and a slaveholder, who was as little acquainted with the Northern people and their interests as with those of any country on the continent of Europe. The complacency of the people was gratified by the appointment of Mr. Everett; and the object of his appointment was to conciliate the North. A Massachusetts man, a scholar, and a pleasant man in society, it was believed at home that he would do credit to his country, while here it was hoped that we should find, at last, a man whom we could deal with, and who could deal with us, on questions arising out of slavery and connected with the slave trade. While in London Mr. Everett passed with easy and uninformed people as an anti-slavery man; but no real progress was made towards international sympathy on the most essential points; and after his return home, his correspondence with Lord John Russell on the Monroe doctrine decided his reputation on this side the water. That letter of Mr. Everett, dated from his office at Washington, and Lord John Russell's reply, will never be forgotten here; and the time will come when the future American historian will cite them as evidence of the degree of political dishonor attained by the public men of the Republic just before the revolution which gave to every man liberty to speak his thought and act up to it. Mr. Buchanan was not quite so much of a Northern man, even professedly, as Mr. Everett; but he, too, passed for an Abolitionist among people who did not know better. He threw off the mask in a way not unlike Mr. Everett's. Instead of writing a despatch from Washington, he signed the Ostend manifesto, and made common cause with Mr. Soulé. The American Ministers in Spain, France and England appeared at that time in the character of a group of Southern fire-eaters, shouting out the Monroe doctrine in defiance of the world, and displaying their pity and contempt for all their countrymen whose fathers had emancipated their slaves. We need not relate here the difficulties which have occurred during Mr. Buchanan's administration and Mr. Dallas's term of residence in London. Troubles of that class are probably over with the false union of incompatible elements at home from which they sprang. It is more agreeable and more profitable to point out the strong probability that, in our own Court and every other in Europe, there will now be a better understanding with the American government, a more sincere intercourse, a more practicable sympathy, and a smoother temper and language, than ever since the days when the young Republic looked among its best citizens for men to represent it abroad. If we are fortunate in the choice made for England, other Courts may be very well satisfied.

Professor Marsh, who goes to Italy, is known as a scholar, and a man of enlightened views as well as of intellectual accomplishment. He is from Vermont; and who so full of the instincts of freedom as the people of Vermont? Mr. Dayton who goes to Paris, is known here chiefly as candidate for the Vice-Presidentship when Fremont failed in 1856. His appointment was confirmed by the Senate without the usual delays, as he was well remembered in the Chamber, and there was no need to question his fitness. He is from New Jersey; and we may hope that he will work well with his comrade from Massachusetts who is coming here. Mr. Adams—the Hon. Charles F. Adams, at present the colleague of Mr. Sumner, in the United States Senate,* as a Massachusetts representative—is the son of one President and the grandson of another. He is known here in two ways; and this is one. Among his family papers are letters written by his fathers from the American legation in London; and among his family traditions are many traits of intercourses with eminent British statesmen during the memorable years when his country was first admitted among the powers of the world, and when his friend Jefferson was watching in France the progress of such a revolution (so he supposed) as his own nation had perfected. Mr. Charles Adams will come full of the associations derived from his grandfather's residence in London as the first American Minister to the old country. He must even have heard much of that time from his own father; for the second Adams was a youth of eighteen when the family sailed for England.

Both the first and second Adams were Presidents. The first was distinguished by a certain tone of conservatism in his policy and intercourses. The second is regarded as "the most moral of the Presidents," in a political sense. The sincerity and patriotism of John Quincy Adams will remain unquestionable while his countrymen preserve the image or tradition of him as he stood in the House of Representatives vindicating the rights of free speech and petition in an evil day. The white-haired old man, who had been the honored ruler of the Republic, and who had felt it no condescension to serve his country further in the Legislature, stood up, day after day, in the face of clamor, menace, and insult, asserting constitutional rights and claiming constitutional liberties, when the great work of his father and his father's friends seemed virtually overthrown. It was a noble position, and future generations will do homage to it. It is, in some sort, an act of homage to his memory to send his son here now—the first American Minister after the second revolution.

This brings up the consideration of the other aspect in which Mr. Charles F. Adams is known among us. We have all heard what great things were expected from him as Senator from anti-slavery Massachusetts and the colleague* of Mr. Sumner; and we have heard but too much of the disappointment and dismay, increasing as time went on, which his course has excited during the last winter. What are we to think after the denunciations we have read in the newspapers, and the clear evidence of fact that he has been one of the temporizers in Congress—one of those who would save the name of the Union by a false peace?

What we ought to think seems to be this. We ought to remember that it is the fault of our own ignorance if we assume that all Northern men, or Northern men generally, hate the South, or even hate slavery. We see the compromise party dying out daily; but we ought to remember how strong it was at Christmas. We should not forget how many tens of thousands of shoemakers, and cabinetmakers, and cotton-spinners, and hardware manufacturers, and clockmakers, and others, signed petitions for compromise, and impressed Congress with their numbers. We should remember that there are to this hour two phases of the Republican party—the timid and the thorough, the tenacious and the reforming; and that Mr. Adams's connections lie among the conservative portion of the party. He is a brother-in-law of Mr. Everett, one of the candidates of the Union party in the Presidential election. All influences have been brought to bear upon him to deter him from venturing on that frank policy of severance which his constituents expected from him. Under these influences he has certainly failed at his post in Congress. If the thing were to do over again, the issue would doubtless be different. Mr. Adams must now see, as his colleague and his State saw before, that the desire of the free States is for severance from the slave States, without war; and that they know compromise to be impossible. If he remained in the Senate he might still be hampered by conservative or reactionary connections; but he would not repeat the mistakes which have injured his political reputation this winter. It is better, however, that he should come to London. He is a fair representative of the Republican party in power; he is anti-slavery in his views, and has been consistent in a genuinely Republican course through a long period of public life. A man may be a good representative of his country abroad who has somewhat fallen below an extreme occasion at home; and it may be doubted whether another man could be found so adequate to the work, who could be spared from the revolution at home. Mr. Sumner and Mr. Wilson are wanted as chairmen of Congressional Committees; and the advocates of compromises now condemned can be spared for other services. Those which now fall to Mr. Adams are great and important; and there seems to be no doubt on any hand of his fitness to discharge them with fidelity to his own government and sincerity to ours. It is possible that his name may be associated with the actual extinction of the African slave-trade.

* Not a colleague of Mr. Sumner in the *Senate*, but a member of the House of Representatives from District No. 3, of Massachusetts.—*Ed. Standard.*

I'm apt to think the man
That could surmount the sum of things, and spy
The heart of God, and secrets of his empire,
Would speak but love. With him, *the bright result*